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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

ABOLITIONISM IN GREAT BRITAIN.

EXPERIENCE AND OBSERVATIONS OF KIRWAN.

From The New York Observer.

LONDON, July, 1860.

On our departure from our own home for Britain it was often suggested, by friends, that we would have to encounter much opposition from the rabid Abolitionists, goaded to more than usual excitement by the execution of John Brown, and by the recent rhetoric of Dr. Guthrie. Our reply uniformly was, that there is a great deal of human nature in man; and that the people of Britain had just as much common sense as other people; with about the same proportion of people of uncommon sense. With common sense people we never have any difficulty; and with those of uncommon sense, we have as little to do as possible. Their sublime flights are often beyond the reach of our wing; and their modes and ways of reform are often beyond and outside the boundaries set by our principles. And if we do not interfere with them, we never permit them to interfere with us. So that we made our account for a pleasant visit, so far as abolitionism was concerned. And now that we have seen much of England, Ireland and Scotland, and are just leaving these shores, perhaps never again to see them, it may be well, for the sake of common sense people on both sides of the Atlantic, to state what we have met and seen here of the spirit of abolitionism.

There are a few people here who are, by trade, philanthropists. Among these is that miserable Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—Chamerovzow—a Pole by birth—an infidel in religion—a theatrical critic by profession, and a Secretary of the Abolition Society, for a salary. His principles are on the side of his stipend, and, unless we are misinformed as to him, he would be a pro-slavery Secretary for higher wages. Connected with him is an Englishman of like character, who went to the United States as a printer—travelled over the country as a journeyman—imbibed the extremest anti-slavery principles, and has returned to abuse our country, and all in it—save those like himself—whose number is very small. As far as we could learn, these are the persons, with the few of like character that they can call to their aid, who mostly annoy ministers and others from America, who come here. And the good people of England should no more be held responsible for the conduct of such men, than the people of New York should be held responsible for the peculiar eloquence of Dr. Cheever, who is really worthy of a better, far better, classification. Apart from such men here, and a few such in Scotland, the people of Britain take common sense views of slavery as it exists among us.

On reaching this place we were handed a circular from the Polish Secretary, sent to all the societies here, warning them against permitting ministers from the United States connected with our great Evangelical Churches, or sustaining our great ecclesiastical or national societies, to take any part in their annual gathering; and we were shown his note warning them against a certain person in particular. Of course it was treated as an impertinence everywhere, as these societies know their own business. We made an address at the Bible Society, in the midst of which somebody, under the gallery in Exeter Hall, said something; what, we knew not until the next day. It was a question as to slavery, But it no more interrupted the meeting than would the whining of a baby in its mother's arms. In the midst of an address at the Tract Society, in the same place, perhaps the same individual proposed a question on the same subject. We heard the sound, but heard not, nor heeded what he said. We were soon followed by Dean Close, of Carlisle, a man every inch of him, who administered a most withering and terrific rebuke to such impertinence, amid the deafening applause of the vast audience. We attended and addressed other meetings in London, but there were no more interruptions. Nor was an offensive word ever said to us privately on the subject. There were frequent inquiries, but in the most kind and Christian spirit.

Finding that he could do nothing with us in public, the Secretary with unpronounceable name thought he might have better success with us in the way of drawing us into a correspondence. With what success is already known. We have not heard from him since the 28th of May, 1860; and it is to be hoped that the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society will not permit him to follow his trade any longer under their sanction. Such a post should be filled by an English gentleman of intelligence, high position, and true piety. Reformers should be free from rudeness, and under the guidance of high principles. England can furnish enough such, without any importation from Poland. All this is significant as to the temper of England.

The Presbyterian Synod of England is not a very large, but it is a most intelligent body. McCrie, Hamilton, Lorimer, Weir, Munro, Lundie, belong to it—names that would shed lustre upon any Church. At its last meeting in April a resolution was introduced to endorse the course of the Denouncer of Union Square, and to recommend his Church as worthy the material aid of Presbyterian England. It was laid on the table. Presbyterians are more inclined to go for principles than for men. And is not this significant as to the temper of England? There, as at home, Presbyterians are a very common sense people.

On reaching Edinburgh, in connection with Dr. Leyburn and Mr. G. H. Stuart, we were requested to address the young men of the city in the theatre in Princes street, which we consented to do. And the meeting was announced in the papers, and placarded over the town. On the morning of the day on which the meeting was to be held in the evening, two violent letters appeared in two papers, denouncing us in terms as bitter as any could desire, and calling upon the good people of "the modern Athens" to eschew us. Your correspondent was especially denounced, and his brethren were exhorted to flee from him as from a pestilent person. We should like to re-produce this effusion, as a specimen of Scotch fanaticism and truthlessness; but we have laid it away so carefully that we cannot find it. The Committee came to see us, to know what to do. We told them to go on with their meeting; that as we were pledged for addresses we would make them, and that if they stood by us we were ready to risk the consequences, and to meet any uproar. They agreed to stand by us, and we prepared for the evening. The theatre was densely crowded. A man by the name of Ritchie—we heard him called Jockie Ritchie—once an independent minister, but now, we learned, a dependent one, was there, with some of his followers. He made, from the pit, we think that is the name, the most strenuous efforts to get a hearing, before the services begun. But the noble young man in the chair would not yield him an inch, nor a sentence. He shouted, and sought a hearing, but in vain. "Not a word, sir, this meeting is called for another purpose," was the reply from the Chair, to every request, whether said, or sung, or shouted. "Sit down, sir," said the Chair, when his impertinence could be endured no longer, "or I will send for the police." At that moment a police officer lifted the curtain, and Jockie Ritchie, with five or six followers, made their "*exeunt omnes*," amid the plaudits of the theatre; and we made our addresses to one of the most crowded, solemn and interested audiences that we ever saw in Scotland. And why should Edinburgh be held responsible for the miserable folly of a set of men, who, when they fail in the ministry, or are turned out of it, turn philanthropists? Nor did we converse in England or Scotland with man, woman, or minister, who did not stigmatize as folly the addresses of Dr. Guthrie and Dr. Candlish on American slavery, made some months since. Dr. Guthrie is a man of big feelings, and little prudence; of great rhetoric, but less logic; he declaims with equal power on subjects he does not understand, as on those he does; and the good men of Scotland should not be held responsible for the excesses into which his big feelings hurry him, when excited by a clamorous and applauding audience, and by the opportunity of making a popular impression. There is yet a great deal of common, canny sense in Scotland; and the people of sense who sympathize with Jockie Ritchie and Dr. Guthrie, are but few indeed. We protest against their being held up in our country as the true type of the feeling in Scotland towards our ministry or our institutions. We mixed freely with the ministers of the Established Church, and of the Free; we were admitted to the floor of both, and addressed both, and received the hospitalities of both; nor do we recall a word or action toward us that was not polite, gentlemanly, fraternal and Christian. And with equal, if not greater emphasis, we can say, the same as to every minister and person we met in Ireland.

The people of Britain are anti-slavery in the sense that our Northern States are anti-slavery. They are opposed to the system, and yet more opposed to some of the laws enacted in reference to it. For this they are not to blame. In this they are with the great current of sentiment among good people in the United States, North and South. But as they know more about it, and us, and our difficulties, we have less of their denunciation, and far more of their prayers and sympathy. They begin to see, too, that their interference does not help us any; that our real, red-hot Abolitionists only aggravate the evil they would remove—that our would-be martyrs are martyrs for their insane folly and not for their principles—that the way of removing slavery is not by denouncing the ministers of Christ as dumb dogs, because they will not bay as hounds or snarl as curs, and the Church of God as a den of thieves; and that the simple gospel, preached in the love of it, is God's great remedy for all the sins, evils and woes of our race. The difficulty hitherto has been that they have relied on the most rotten information, and on the most exaggerated and truthless statements, for their guidance. But they are correcting themselves, and soon the good people of Britain will be one in sentiment and action with the sober, judicious, Christian anti-slavery people of the Northern States, who could not hold slaves themselves, and who are praying that God, in his own time and way, would unbind every burden, and let the oppressed go free. Indeed they are so now. Our experience is, that offensive, rude Abolitionists are fewer in Britain than they are with us. As with us, what they lack in number and principle they make up in noise and abuse. But they have no power, save in the way of annoyance, and but little at that.

KIRWAN.

HENRY WARD BEECHER ON INFIDELITY.

From The New York Observer.

As many of our readers may not have an opportunity of hearing Henry Ward Beecher, or of reading his sermons as they are prepared for the press, under his own supervision, every week, we make the following extract from his last week's discourse, as we find it printed, under his own name. "The very center nest of the most wormy infidels," to whom he alludes in such Christian terms, and of whom he says, by insinuation, that "the reeling drunkard in the street, and the universally despised prostitute" shall go into the kingdom of God before them—this "center nest of wormy infidels" is composed of such ministers of Christ as Drs. DeWitt, Magie, Adams and Williams, and such laymen as Richard T. Haines, Moses Allen, William Forrest and Oliver E. Wood.

"You know that the sublimest art of religion is that of calling names! If a man does not suit you, call him an *Infidel*. If that does not settle his case, call him a *Pelagian*; or, divide the aspersion, and call him a *Semi-Pelagian*. Call him a *Methodist*. Call him a *Calvinist*. Call him an *Old Calvinist*. Or, if you are a Calvinist, call him an *Arminian!* You can save yourself the trouble of reasoning, so long as there is a obloquy in these terms, if you have only got your quiver full of them—and if you have not, it is because you do not read *The New York Observer!* And, for that matter, the newspapers generally will afford you an abundance of cutting epithets at variance with the spirit of Christ.

"On the other hand, wherever you find men that worship the Bible, and deny every one of its essential traits—wherever you find men who hold with the most scrupulous reverence the Word of God, so that they cannot touch the Book without a kind of awe, and so that they stand before it trembling, with profound veneration, as if in the presence of God, but who, when they are obliged to take sides with the strong or the weak, always take sides with the strong; who, when they are called to use their influence to build up things popular or things unpopular, always use it to build up things popular; who, when choosing between the humble way of virtue and the garnished way of respectability, always take the respectable way; and who are never willing to practise self-denial or risk their reputation or their life for the sake of a cause or a principle—wherever you find such men, you may be sure that you have struck the very center nest of the most wormy infidels! Such men were the wise conclave of Jewish Rabbis, to whom Christ said, 'The publicans and the harlots shall go into the kingdom of God before you.' Heaven and earth were not capacious enough to hold the surprise of these men, when they heard this declaration; and if I were to stand before the Tract Society, to-day, and say to them, 'The reeling drunkard in the street, and the universally despised prostitute, shall go into the kingdom of God before you that use the Bible and the Christian Church to deny the right of your fellow-men to liberty,' how uncharitable men would think I was! It only needs that Christ should come and speak the same thing to make him as liable to crucifixion as he was eighteen hundred years ago! For the human soul, in its native pride and corruption, hisses and foams when brought in contact with the pure truth, as hot iron does when brought in contact with pure water."

In order that those who read the above may know how much weight to give the opinions of such a man (if they do not know already), we make an extract from the paragraph immediately preceding the quotation. He says:

"There are a great many persons who reject many parts of the Bible—unfortunately, I think, for their comfort—and yet maintain the spirit of Christ, as far as men are wont to maintain it. These are called infidels, but not by me."

He goes on to say that those who have "sloughed off the Old Testament and stricken out parts of the New," while they have saved enough of what *he* calls the spirit of the Bible "to produce in them a true religious experience," are not infidels in his eyes.

This affords an explanation of Dr. Beecher's fraternizing with Theodore Parker, whom even the Unitarians are now most anxious to disown, as not entitled to the name of Christian, and of his commendation of Universalists while pouring out the vials of his sarcasm upon the heads of "Vinegar-faced Evangelicals." We prefer to be called infidel by such a man rather than come under *his* category of Christians. But Dr. B. never "calls names"—not even when he calls many of the best men in the land "the very center nest of the most wormy infidels"!

MRS. L. MARIA CHILD AGAIN.

From The Journal of Commerce.

The New York Journal of Commerce has recently published the same statement which we copied last winter, regarding the false philanthropy of Mrs. L. Maria Child, copied from a correspondent of *The New Orleans Picayune*, to the effect that this lady has a suffering daughter at the South to whom she pays no heed, leaving her dependent upon the charity of strangers. While we do not admire Mrs. C., and have been taught to regard her opinions, and her action touching the great modern martyr of crime at Harper's Ferry, as the most utter and *pernicious* "twaddle," still we were willing to, and did, make amends for having been innocently misled by the statement in *The Picayune*, which proves to want any foundation.—*Burlington* (Vt.) *Sentinel*.

In a note to the editor of *The Sentinel*, Mrs. Child stated that she always has been childless—or rather, has been, up to the date of the note—thus refuting the charge above referred to.—*Journal of Commerce*.

THE main facts in the article in *The Picayune* are substantially correct, except that the lady referred to is not a daughter of Mrs. L. Maria Child. But she is a young lady from Massachusetts, and spells her name Childs instead of Child.

I am acquainted with the facts of the case, having myself taught school in the Leigh family (not Lee as printed in *Journal of Commerce*) previous to the employment of Miss Childs. I have lived in the vicinity ever since. Such acts of kindness as shown by the Leigh family to Miss Childs are acts of *true* benevolence, *true* philanthropy. It is not that misguided, morbid philanthropy exhibited by L. Maria Child when she hastened to the prison of John Brown, who was clearly proved to be guilty of murder, bloodshed and treason, actuated, it may be, by the same morbid philanthropy that sent Mrs. Child to his prison. Abolition philanthropy is all morbid and false, though I do not doubt that Mrs. Child, and thousands like her, are sincere in their acts. But could not Mrs. Child have found some objects of benevolence nearer home, even in Massachusetts, really needing assistance, who never had raised their hands to shed human blood, and were guilty of no crime, but were reduced to suffering and want by misfortune or the providence of God? I have seen many such cases in Massachusetts, where I formerly lived and received my education. But all such cases are overlooked by Abolition philanthropy. "Distance lends enchantment to the view." Charity, of black," will, when identified, be looked upon with contempt, and shunned with abhorrence, as the illiterate and malignant traducer of four-fifths of all the inhabitants of the globe, and the reckless blasphemer of the wisdom, goodness and equity of God, who "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." Englishmen are "solicited" to "repudiate" such abolition "fanatics" as appeared upon the platform of the 1st of August meeting. If this Yankee libeller of God and man had possessed the courage to utter at that meeting the sentiments he has written over a fictitious signature, he would speedily, and to his shame and confusion, have discovered what "class of fanatics" it is that Englishmen are accustomed to repudiate.

We are further admonished by this "Yankee Reader," that if we would advocate "some feasible scheme of emancipation" that would be "commercially just between man and man, it would be hailed with joy by all the good and true members of the anti-slavery party in America." (Indeed! then why do not the members of that party propound some such scheme? And if not, why not?) To demand that the owners of slaves should emancipate them without compensation (that is to say, give them twenty-five hundred millions of dollars for these naturally filthy and inherently lazy beings, of inferior stamp), would be "thoroughly dishonest;" as unjust as to require the Earl of Derby to give up his racing stud, on the alleged ground that racing is "injurious

It is quite clear your Yankee correspondent possesses no faculty that will enable him to distinguish between a man and a horse, any more than he can distinguish lofty eloquence and unanswerable argument, from "fanatic remarks"; or, a God-fearing Abolitionist from a God-insulting negro-hater. To him, the crime of robbing a human being, created in the image of God, of his rights, and dooming his progeny to eternal slavery, by the diabolical statute, inherited from pagan barbarism—*Partus sequitur ventrem*—is the same as over-taxing the strength of a four-footed beast lawfully possessed. In his sight, the right of ownership in a slaveholder is equal to that of Lord Derby in the horses he has reared and trained for the race-course. A fit man this to school the British community, and criticize the speakers at the late meeting, and attempt to pass himself off as an Abolitionist in the true sense of the word!

Verily, it is to such benighted men as your correspondent, that the message of Dr. Cheever is addressed. Before such men mouth about "feasible schemes," let them learn what this Scripture meaneth—"How much better, then, is a man than a sheep?" Let them attend to the voice which speaketh to them from amidst the thunders of Sinai, "Whoso stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." They will then, if they love their friends, abandon the doctrine of compensation. Let your "Yankee Reader" pass from the Word of God to the Declaration of American Independence, and before he again appears in print, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the first sentence of the second paragraph of that document, the effect of which process upon his mind I trust will be, the discovery of one more self-evident truth, viz., that in his letter he has (happily anonymously) exposed himself to the pitiful scorn of every man not dead to all sense of natural justice, and all respect for the law of God.

GEORGE THOMPSON.

THE GREAT TEXAS PLOT EXPLODED.

From The Evening Post.

ONE of the last resorts of political parties, when the usual means of influencing public opinion fails them, is to work upon the fears of the community. They get up terrible stories of plots and conspiracies against the public peace, which they flaunt in the faces of timid people, to frighten them out of their seven senses. In this country such efforts are directed to the preparation of what are called "abolition conspiracies," or of combinations among anti-slavery men, to bring about a general rising of the Southern slaves. John Brown's misguided foray into Virginia provided admirable material for dealers in this kind of ware, and, more recently, certain border troubles in Texas have given them delectable occupation.

Our newspapers for weeks past have teemed with reports of the dreadful doings of "the Abolitionists" in Texas; they had connived with the negroes; they had put weapons in their hands; they had given them large parcels of the deadly poison strychnine to administer to their masters; they had caused this poison to be thrown into the wells, even; and the inhabitants went to bed every night in terror of conflagration and bloodshed. In order to justify these reports, certain suspected or offensive persons were seized by the mob and cruelly tortured or put to death. The preachers of the Methodist Church, and the German settlers in the eastern part of Texas, who are supposed to be more or less opposed to slavery, were made the chief objects of suspicion, and against them the fury of the mob was directed.

We have several times in the course of these rumors cautioned our readers against putting any faith in them, believing them to be the work of interested politicians, or of the pro-slavery party in Texas, which looks with apprehension upon the spread of free principles among the new settlers in the State. Recent investigations into the facts of the case prove the propriety of these precautions. The great Texas "Abolition Plot" was no plot at all; the negroes have never been tampered with; and all the real strychnine that has been distributed in the State is that which is compounded with the nauseous whiskey sold as a beverage on the borders.

We have before us *The New Orleans Picayune* of September 8th, which disposes in the most summary manner, of all the terrifying stories. It says:

"The investigations which have been prosecuted in the disturbed districts of Texas have not developed, with any degree of distinctness, the existence of any other plot for ruin than what a few desperate characters, without connection with or hope of help from any other quarter, might have formed. In some cases the negro population have been demoralized evidently by the insidious promises of white men, and the work of ruin wrought has doubtless been mainly their work. But not half of what has been confessed seems to be borne out by later facts.

"The strychnine said to have been discovered in the hands of negroes turns out to be very harmless, having no affinity with the deadly poison which it was supposed to be. The wells thought to have been poisoned, late accounts declare to be untainted with any deleterious substance.

"Texas, like all of our frontier States, has been the point where desperate men have congregated, and her whole history is full of violence and outrage inflicted by the foes of society. Aroused by the present danger, the good citizens of our sister State have now taken the most effectual means to bring such offenders to justice, and to break up all combinations for their protection.

"The excitement produced will not pass away without producing a most salutary change in the police discipline of the country. Too much freedom has, doubtless, there, as elsewhere, been given to servants, and not enough oversight has been had of their habits and morals. Without doubt, this neglect, under the stimulus of the late difficulties, will be amended, and the occurrences which have taken place there should be a warning against similar neglect elsewhere.

On the outbreak of the alarm in Texas, we cautioned our readers against adopting all the reports from that quarter as true, believing that somewhat, at least, of their coloring, was due to excited suspicion, that made the slightest circumstantial evidence as strong as proof from holy writ. The results of the investigations made accord with that caution, while they reveal enough to warn and instruct the entire South."

How completely the attempt was understood, both at the South and North, is evident from the little excitement which the reports created. No alarm was produced anywhere. The Southern journals themselves forbore making political use of the exaggerations, while the Northern journals chronicled the occurrences just as coolly as they chronicle a riot in Baltimore, or a street fight in San Francisco. Such tricks, we hope, are at an end, although it is possible that just before the November election something more of the kind may be invented and tried on.

From The Tribune.

We have twice ventured, each time giving our reasons therefor, to doubt the existence of any negro plot whatever in Texas, or of any purpose of revolt among her slaves. From the first, the story has rested upon such flimsy foundations as to be incredible, and has not, from the beginning, been supported by a single particle of direct evidence. Undoubtedly, many persons at the North believed in its truth; just as undoubtedly, everybody at the South believed it to be a lie. With the former, the wonder is that slaves do not oftener rise in insurrection against their masters, and they give implicit credence to every rumor of such a catastrophe; but the Southern people know the almost insurmountable practical obstacles there are in the way of any such attempt at achieving freedom or compassing revenge on the part of the negroes, and they know also, when these are surmounted, how frightful the retribution is which overtakes the master who bears the first onset of such a storm. Neither in the acts of the negroes, nor in the conduct of the whites, has there been any evidence of the existence of a servile insurrection, though

Selections.

LETTER FROM GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

To the Editor of The London American.

SIR: I cannot but exceedingly admire the impartiality displayed by your journal in its last issue, which, on the same page, contains a report of the late meeting for the celebration of the abolition of British colonial slavery; a letter from a "Yankee Reader," full of ridicule and vituperation of his own illustrious countryman, Dr. Cheever; a highly eulogistic article, on the same gentleman, from the pen of the editor of *The Morning Advertiser;* and lastly, an article justly laudatory of the persevering and successful exertions of Mr. Thomas Clegg of Manchester, directed to the cultivation of cotton in Africa.

This is certainly an edifying exemplification of the excellent proverb, *Audi alteram partem.* Long may you continue to afford to men of clashing opinions the means of free utterance of their thoughts in your columns, and secure, while you do so, the merited support both of the English and the American public.

The only one of the insertions above enumerated upon which I desire that you should give me the opportunity of offering to your readers a few words of comment, is that of your "Yankee Reader."

This gentleman, in his simplicity and self-approbation, "*thinks*" he is "an *Abolitionist* in the true sense of the word," yet deems it consistent with his character, as such, to use the language of the worst of negro-haters and the most determined of the upholders of "the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man." I will pass, in order, through the sentences which compose his letter, and will cull a few of the flowers of rhetoric with which it is so plentifully strewed. *Exempli gratia:* The splendid and logic-linked oration of the Rev. Dr. Cheever—of whom, with all his anti-slavery enthusiasm, the people of America are justly proud—is, in the judgment of your "Yankee Reader," nothing but a mass of "fanatic remarks." The other speeches, delivered at Spafields chapel, are described as belonging to the same "absurd school." We are then informed, that we may henceforth stand in awe, that the writer is actually "indignant" when compelled, of his own accord, to "listen to such foolish arguments by American Abolitionists in England." With regard to the negro, whose emancipation in the British colonies has, in his own words, been "found to work so admirably," we are, in the same breath, told that he is "unfitted to associate with the white race on terms of equality, owing to his *inferiority, inherent laziness and naturally filthy habits.*"

The writer of this vulgar and disgusting garbage may "think" himself an Abolitionist in the sense in which the word is employed by those with whom he fraternizes when at home; but by the people of England, the man who speaks of the negro race as he has dared to do, and culminates his disgrace by stretching his office beyond the race he so foully culminates, by impiously affirming that the Infinite Father of all the families of the earth has, himself, "proclaimed the inferiority of the negro," by clothing him in "a livery

REV. DR. CHEEVER AND THE CHURCH OF THE PURITANS.

From a London paper.

A MEETING of leading ministers and influential gentlemen, chiefly belonging to the Congregational denomination, was held at Radley's Hotel, on Wednesday last, for the purpose of taking measures to aid the noble and talented pastor of the Church of the Puritans in the contest he has for years been waging against the monster sin of his native land. The meeting was private, having been convened by a circular signed by the Revs. T. Binney and T. James, being intended as preliminary to a more public demonstration thereafter to be made upon the subject. The chair was taken by Mr. Samuel Morley, who having briefly stated the object of the convention, Dr. Cheever rose, and gave a long and most interesting account of the rise and progress of the difficulties which had occurred in his Church—namely, which had their origin in the obligation under which he felt himself placed, as a minister of Christ, to bear a faithful and persistent testimony against slavery, as the nationally destroying crime of the American republic, and the soul-destroying sin of its people, which testimony had raised against him the fierce persecution of the United States cottonocracy, as well as its dominant political parties. He explained the process of biblical investigation by which he had been brought to the conclusion that no slavery of any description had ever been divinely instituted or tolerated, either in the national code, the domestic economy, or the religious polity of the Jews; but that, on the contrary, it had been most expressly prohibited by Jehovah in every form, and under the most severe penalties; that in the New Testament Church it was an institution most emphatically denounced. These truths he had demonstrated in his works, "God against Slavery," and the "Guilt of Slavery, and the Crime of Slaveholding, demonstrated from the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures," the publication of which, as well as of numerous sermons and speeches upon other phases of the question in its moral and commercial aspects, had raised against him the bitter hostility of the pro-slavery Churches North and South, comprising nearly the whole religious organizations of the land, with their various literary periodicals, which had been continually calumniating him, and particularly that most notorious and unscrupulous of the so-called religious journals of America, *The New York Observer.*

At the conclusion of the above most interesting and impressive address, a number of pointed but friendly questions were put to the reverend gentleman, with a view to elicit explanations upon the slanderous statements made by his pro-slavery assailants in New York and elsewhere, which were replied to by him with great frankness, fulness and simplicity, and to the entire satisfaction of the meeting, by which he was warmly eulogized for his uncompromising hostility to slavery, as well as to that subordinate form of the same crime which prevails not only in the United States, but also in Canada, and even ecclesiastical degradation, viz., the social proscription of men and women on account of their color.

The Rev. Thomas Binney stated that he had carefully perused Dr. Cheever's most learned and excellent works above named, and although he could not agree in the interpretation which the author had put—no doubt for reasons satisfactory to his own mind—upon certain passages of the Old and New Testament, he (Mr. B.) did not the less unequivocally endorse all which had been so eloquently and powerfully stated by Dr. Cheever upon the stupendous guilt of those who upheld slavery as it now existed in the United States of America. Such an institution could not be supported upon the doubtful interpretation of an obscure text applicable to circumstances which existed in a different state of the world thousands of years ago, but must be judged of in the blazing light shed by Christianity upon the obligations of its followers to their fellow-men in the present dispensation of Gospel freedom, love and mercy.

The subject of raising a testimonial fund to Dr. Cheever, to enable him to withstand the conspiracy which for years has been working against him for the purpose of driving him from the important position he now holds as pastor of the Church of the Puritans, New York—probably the most influential, ecclesiastically, in America—was then discussed, and a unanimous resolution was come to that a liberal fund, adequate to his maintenance in the position in which God's providence had placed him, should be raised. Mr. Binney, the Rev. T. James, and the editor of *The Patriot* were nominated a preliminary committee—the latter gentleman cheerfully consenting to act as honorary secretary—for the purpose of making arrangements for the holding, in the month of October, of a general meeting upon the subject, comprising the leading ministers and influential lay members of Churches of the metropolis. The Chairman expressed his affectionate feeling towards Dr. Cheever, and his warm attachment to his course, to which he announced his determination to contribute liberally.

Dr. Cheever has received a pressing invitation to be present at the autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, which commences its sittings at Blackburn, Lancashire, on the 24th proximo, and which he has accepted.

PROMISCUOUS DANCING.

OUR readers have been duly informed of the doings of the Committee having in charge the entertainment to be given to the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his visit to New York. They know of the transformation of the Banquet into a Ball at the wish, we believe, of the young Prince, which was as potent in metamorphosis as that of a prince in a fairy tale, at whose birth none but the good fairies presided. We have no personal objections to this alteration. Although our own dancing days are past, and a Ball has about as slender attractions for us now—the more's the pity!—as almost any human arrangement, we still remember the days of our youth, and can feel a saltatory sympathy with his Royal Highness in his wish for one. We have no conscientious scruples against promiscuous dancing, or dancing in common with the female sex, as we believe that exercise is defined by its unfriends; but a sense of that responsibility which rests upon us compels us to draw the attention of those whom it concerns to certain particulars of this business.

Had the gentlemen volunteering to conduct this complimentary festival been mere wordlings, who think no harm of the amusement of dancing, and are ready to afford opportunities for the same at their own houses, and who bring up their children in that nurture and admonition, we should not have had a word to say. But we are concerned to observe in the list of committeemen a good many gentlemen whose names are much more familiar to the public from their connection with Foreign Missions, the Tract enterprise, the Fulton street Business Men's Prayer-meeting, and other occasions of religious assembling, than from any association with the frivolities of ball-rooms and opera-houses. We believe that if there be a testimony loudly maintained against the evil practices of a world lying in wickedness—card-playing perhaps excepted—it is that against promiscuous dancing. And we fear that card-playing may be among the side institutions of this ball, when it finally takes place. One of the sins at which the Tract Society has ever aimed its loudest thunders is that of dancing. Though there is a just delicacy about meddling with actions of a mere doubtful propriety, such as making black men work for white without wages, there has been but one opinion from the establishment of that agency as to the exceeding sinfulness of dancing. It is an offence against good morals and sound piety which comes up for the reprehension of almost every convention, assembly, convocation, association, and which receives no mercy at the hands of any of them. And we apprehend there is no divine of sound evangelical principles that doth not from time to time make it the theme of his pulpit exhortations.

Now, the question suggests itself to the carnal mind, if promiscuous dancing be a *malum in se*, how is it possible that these pious gentlemen are thus prominent in promoting it? And if it be not, why should it be continually treated as such on all theological

the papers for more than two months have abounded with statements of pretended proofs. Whatever may have been the purpose of these stories, they are met at length with a correction that may not be doubted. *The New Orleans Picayune* of the 8th instant says:

[See article above quoted by *The Evening Post.*]

A newspaper published at Houston, Texas, had already borne a similar testimony, and it may now be considered as an established fact that the pretended plot was a pretence and a sham. Undoubtedly, however, it had its purpose, and that, as we have already suggested, was to suppress with a strong hand a nascent anti-slavery feeling among the people of Texas, and more especially aimed at the Methodists, with some of whom hostility to Slavery was a religious conviction. In this suppression it has undoubtedly succeeded in so far that it has put to death a number of citizens who held to the heresies of the Sermon on the Mount and the Declaration of Independence. But the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, and through the madness of the pro-slavery party, we doubt not the feeling against slavery as an inhuman and God-defying institution is stronger in Texas to-day than it ever was before.

From The Evening Post.

The Southern journals themselves are beginning to ridicule and expose the reports of slave insurrections. They are much wiser than Governor Wise, who, when the notices of the Texas plots were circulating, wrote to a friend in that State in this foolish fashion:

"Fight all invaders of your State, and hang all you can catch. It is time that the slave States were ready for the revolution which is coming inevitably, with the purpose to take from them not only their personal property in negro slaves, but the political property in this glad and glorious Union. Let neither class of rights be invaded; *fight first*, and don't let the invaders seize the power to disarm you."

As there were no invaders to fight, and nobody to hang, Bobadil's courage was superfluous. He might as well have written to a citizen of New York, "Exterminate the British, down with French spies, gibbet every German that violates your domestic peace."

The Mobile *Register* of the 9th inst. takes a more sensible view. It says:

"Within the last twelve years, at the eve of every Presidential election, the very air we breathe becomes sultry with dark rumors and horrid alarms of servile insurrections. It behooves us to investigate the causes of so strange an anomaly. Usually these rumors bear contradiction on their face. A hundred bottles of strychnine are found in the keeping of a single individual, when probably all the chemical laboratories in the Union could not furnish that quantity at any one time. Arms and ammunition are buried in a coffin in localities where a hundred times the quantity that a coffin can contain might be more conveniently and more safely concealed in a less unusual manner. Any student of history knows what credence to give such tales. They are familiar to him by their unvarying reproduction in every popular panic."

At the same time, the *Register* thinks that the agitation of such rumors at the South is likely to lead to the very occurrences which they are meant to prevent. "Our political discussions," it remarks, "are so intemperate that even the most secluded slave cannot fail to hear the purest men accused of being Abolitionists in disguise, and have his attention aroused by the startling information that in such and such a not improbable contingency, he and all his fellow-slaves must inevitably become free. Will our people never take warning from a fact which needs but the merest intimation to be understood? The suggestion of a crime is most often a seed which need but fall on fertile soil to produce the most prolific growth. Some empty-headed fool starts a rumor that a keg of powder has been placed under the meeting house to blow up the whole population at once. The anxious talk, the trembling examination, is known in every negro cabin. Who shall guarantee that population against a fiend in human shape, who may years hence seek an easy vengeance by a horrible crime which his own brain could never have hatched?" There is much truth in this, which deserves consideration.

From The Paris (Texas) Press, Aug. 18.

Notwithstanding that we have a most vigilant patrol every night and Sunday, no discovery has been made thus far to justify the suspicion that any plot has been made known to the negroes of Paris, either insurrectionary or incendiary.

Again it turns out that Henderson was not set on fire in eight places, but the fire commenced in one place. It appears also that the report about three men having been executed, because suspected of having been incendiaries, is all a hoax. For the sake of Texan character we trust that no men have been killed because they were suspected. It is bad enough that real criminals are turned loose upon the community, with their hands dripping with the blood of their fellow-men, contrary to law, and men who forget the distinction between "meum and tuum" are hanged without judge or jury, contrary to law and justice, without having the additional stain of murdering upon suspicion. He who takes the life of a human being, unless justified or excused by the law or circumstances of the case, is a murderer in the sight of God and all honest men.

A thousand rumors are in circulation every day in the week, and the public taste seems to demand something horrible. At a meeting held in the Court House a few days ago, which we did not attend, we are informed that some most eloquent speeches were made, but the substance of some of them, as reported to us, we do not indorse. For instance, one speaker, as we are informed, is anxious to exclude all Northerners from Texas. This spirit, in a community made up in great part of Northern men, is by no means just.

ONESIMUS SPEAKING FOR HIMSELF.

[*The New York Herald* has a correspondent accompanying Senator Seward in his Western travels. In one of his letters, describing the journey through Canada, over the Great Western Railroad, he relates a very instructive incident, which we copy below. The Mr. Orr mentioned by the writer is from Mississippi, and a brother of Speaker Orr of South Carolina.—*Ed. Standard.*]

THE most indispensable person in the company is a bright mulatto servant man of Mr. Seward's. He has been a long time in his service, and as he is a smart, polite, intelligent and faithful fellow, he enjoys much of the confidence of his master. He attends on him and the young ladies, and looks after the baggage of all of us. John is, therefore, quite a favorite. When the cars stopped at Chatham, where Osawatomie Brown's provisional government was formed, John was accosted by another colored man whom he at once recognized as the confidential servant of Senator Toombs, of Georgia. "My gracious!" says John, "I was so much surprised at seeing him that, without thinking of it, I asked him, was his master along in the cars?" He was not. This colored gentleman had so long enjoyed partial freedom that he thought he would like to see how actual freedom would feel to him. And so he ran away and came to Chatham. His master had sent him from Washington, where John had seen and known him, to take home the carriage and horses. These he shipped at Baltimore, according to his instructions, and then shipped himself by the Underground Railroad. He was a stout-built, consequential little fellow, with a large quantity of self-conceit. Mr. Orr, anxious to satisfy himself of the condition of runaway negroes in Canada, got into conversation with him, and made inquiries as to what he was doing, and how he liked his new life. He liked it "first rate," and he was keeping a grocery.

"But, my good fellow, suppose you do not succeed at the grocery business, and lose your money at it, what are you to do then?"

"Do as the white folks does; go to work at something else."

"But what can you work at in this cold country?"

"Work at most anything—farming, and the like."

"Now, I want to ask you a question, and I want you to give me an honest answer. From your experience here, and your knowledge of the condition of slaves at the South, would you advise them to change their condition?"

The runaway, with his hands in his pockets, and with a look of independence in his eye, answered emphatically that he would.

"What would you have them do here?" asks Mr. Orr.

"Do as I and the rest of us do."

"You are an intelligent fellow, and might manage to shift for yourself; but you know what your class of people at the South are, and that they could not get along by themselves."

The runaway answered, with an exulting air, "If you send along five thousand, or five hundred thousand, or five millions, we will take care of them."

Orr saw that he was an incorrigibly hard case, and dropped him. Mr Toombs's former piece of property went on, however, to say, that his master was a real gentleman, so he was; he had nothing to say against him, and he did not run away from him, but from the system. He knew that the slaves had enough to eat and clothes to wear, but they were such clothes as no servant in this section would be seen wearing. And then, as the cars were moving off, he asked Mr. Orr to give his best respects to his old master and all the folks down there. The negroes around him showed their ivories approvingly. The white people on the platform—who were much amused at the conversation, and thought that the darkey had the best of the argument—laughed heartily; the engine snorted to get off, and we left Chatham to its ebony idols.

I am told that the colored people in that county are more numerous than the whites,

occasions? Is it possible that the fact that it is a Prince of the Blood, the Heir of England, that is the person to dance and be danced unto, takes the act out of the category of crimes, and makes it harmless, if not praiseworthy? These are questions which all who feel an interest in matters of this sort are much exercised in their minds to have satisfactorily answered. We are well aware that the original proposition was for a Dinner, which is a strictly orthodox festivity, and that our pious fellow-citizens were rather caught in their own craftiness when his Royal Highness preferred waltzing with pretty young girls to gormandizing with dull, elderly men and being bored by their speeches. Still, they might have withdrawn at the moment that they discovered the fatal character of the change in the entertainment. They surely were not required to expose themselves to ecclesiastical censures in this world, or to the punishment of sin in the next, out of civility to the Prince of Wales. It is very well to do the handsome thing by the Prince, but not at the risk of encountering the Prince of Darkness because of it. We highly honor the devotion of these gentlemen in proposing to rescue the princely young gentleman from the fangs of Boole and Van Tine; but we think they should not be expected to put their immortal souls in jeopardy in the process.

But, however this may be, we trust that these gentlemen, now that they have fairly incurred the risk, will meet the emergency handsomely. It will not relieve them of the ecclesiastical censure or the further peril involved, to try and evade the issue by any compromise. We trust that the Academy of Music will see on the important night a spectacle of serious dancing such as has not been seen since

"The grave Lord Keeper led the orawls."

We hope that it will witness Vice-Presidents of the Tract Society threading the solemn mazes of the Lancers, Directors of the Sabbath School Union twirling in the giddy gyrations of the polka, and a member of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions leading the German. We have no doubt, ourselves, that such an exercise would be blessed to their spiritual good, and redound to their mental health. But, then, that is none of our business, and we feel that we have discharged our duty in calling the attention of the Reverend Doctors in Divinity, who are intrusted with the care of these wealthy and worthy gentlemen, to the facts of the case, believing that they will take such steps as may be necessary in the premises.—*Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1860.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

PENNSYLVANIA STATE SOCIETY.

THE Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Public Hall, at Kennett Square, Chester Co., on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, the 25th and 26th of October.

The advanced position of our anti-slavery movement, and its increased importance as an element in the politics of the country invest the enterprise, at this juncture, with especial interest, and expose it to peculiar dangers. Guided by wise counsels, no apprehensions need be entertained of its final and not distant triumph; but made to serve the ends of party leaders, or conducted, even in good faith, on the basis of a mere outward expediency, a calamitous issue must be the inevitable result.

To guard the cause against the perils which beset it, and, at the same time, afford it all the facilities needed for its promotion, will be the business of the Society at its approaching meeting.

We invoke a full attendance of our members and friends, and invite the presence and cooperation of all others sincerely favorable to our object.

It affords us pleasure to state that the honored pioneer of our cause, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, has signified his intention to be with us.

By order of the Executive Committee.

JAMES MOTT, Chairman.

REV. DR. RICE IN DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.

As the cause of slavery grows more and more desperate, it is natural that attempts to sustain and apologize for it should grow more and more frequent. The worst among these, as might be expected, come from clerical defenders of slavery.

For some months we have had by us, waiting for notice, an octavo pamphlet of 100 pages, published last spring in Chicago, and entitled—"Lectures on Slavery, delivered in the North Presbyterian Church, Chicago: with an Appendix, containing a Discussion with Rev. Mr. Wolcott. By N. L. Rice, D.D."

Some of our readers may remember that this same Rev. Dr. Rice published "Ten Letters on Slavery" some years ago, when he was a pastor in St. Louis. Though now resident in a State called "free," and removed from the temptation of pandering to a vice found profitable by some of his parishioners, he still makes voluntary and energetic efforts to defend slavery. He tells us that he has no direct "interest" in that institution; and it is quite possible that his only object in actively defending it in the West, is the same which induces so many clergymen to use great *moderation* in *assailing* it in the East, namely, the fact that the Church, the common mother of them and their slaveholding "brethren" in the South, is the great bulwark of slavery.

This motive is also prominently set forth in the reasons stated by Dr. Rice for the present publication. He has been moved "to enter upon a careful discussion of the subject of slavery" because—it has important bearings upon the question of the inspiration of the Scriptures—also upon the unity, peace, honor and efficiency of the Church of Christ—also upon the Church (Old School Presbyterian) of which Dr. Rice is "an humble minister"—and, finally, upon the political and social destiny of our country. These considerations have moved Dr. Rice (though he has "not the slightest interest in slavery") to prepare, preach and publish three elaborate lectures upon that subject.

Lecture I. considers the question, "Is Slaveholding Sin *per se?*"

After criticising and rejecting various definitions of slavery, Dr. Rice finally accepts one which was invented by the *Princeton Review* in 1844, as follows:

Slavery is "the master's right to the service of the slave, involving the corresponding* obligation to treat him as a *man*, guarding his rights as to family, compensation and religious instruction."

After accepting this definition, Dr. Rice clears the way for the discussion of his question above stated, by making the following concessions.

He holds to the *unity* of the human race; "consequently," he holds that the golden rule applies, in its full force, to every human being, to the Africans as fully as to any other people, and that "the curse pronounced upon Ham does not justify us in enslaving his descendants." He does not hold that slavery is a Divine institution, nor that the Bible *sanctions* it. He distinctly denies the right of any man to traffic in human beings *for gain;* also to separate husbands and wives, parents and children, for his convenience, or *for gain;* also to withhold from "his slaves" a fair compensation for their labor. What that compensation shall be must depend "on circumstances."

He holds it to be the duty of masters not only to give "their slaves" all needed food, clothing and shelter, and to treat them kindly, but "to afford them the opportunity to receive religious instruction, and to read the Word of God." And, finally, he considers it the duty of those concerned with slavery to elevate "their slaves" and prepare them for freedom "whenever Divine Providence shall open the way for them to enjoy it."

Conceding further that slavery, as it exists in our country, originated in violence and wickedness, and that even now it is always an evil to both parties, he claims a distinction between the responsibility of those who *introduced* slavery, and of those who *inherited* it, and then takes the position of denial that the relation between the present masters and slaves is necessarily sinful.

He first offers what he calls "a *presumptive* proof" to this effect, viz., that "the overwhelming majority of wise and good men, in past ages and the present, have understood the Scriptures to teach that the relation is not necessarily sinful."

His second proof "is derived from the application of the moral law and the golden rule to the facts of the case," thus: the Roman slave code gave unlimited power to the master over the slave, even to the taking of his life; Christians, by buying these Roman slaves, and holding them as *their* slaves, *might* ameliorate their condition; the apostles "evidently *did* justify Christian men in holding slaves, whose condition was far better in their hands than it would otherwise have been"; finally, Christians in the slaveholding States may do the same thing for the same reason.

His third proof that the relation between master and slave is not necessarily sinful is derived "from the teaching and the example of Christ and his Apostles." Under this head he quotes "Dr. Thompson, of New York, an extreme Abolitionist," (!) as admitting that the Jews were allowed to buy and hold slaves; and "Scott, the learned Commentator," (!) as inferring from the New Testament "that Christian masters were not required to set their slaves at liberty."

On the ground of these and other such authorities, Dr. Rice assumes that he has "clearly proved, both from the principles of the moral law, and from the teaching and example of Moses, of Christ and the Apostles, that the relation of master and slave is not necessarily or always sinful." And he adds, in conclusion of the first lecture, "I think I can see how it is that so many Abolitionists have become infidels. They have gone aback of the Scriptures for their ideas of human rights."

The second lecture is entitled, "Duties of Southern Churches."

Early in the pamphlet (p. 6) Dr. Rice had (correctly) declared that "the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has decided that slaveholding is not, *in itself*, a bar to Christian fellowship." Having assumed, in addition to this, that Christ and the Apostles allowed their converts to hold slaves, unreproved, it is easy for him to advise all other Southern Churches to follow the example of the Presbyterian Church.

Lecture III. considers "The True Mode of Dealing with Slavery."

Experience has shown Dr. Rice that nothing effects so much towards the justification of slavery as a fervent but diffuse expression of piety in connection with it. Accordingly, at this vital point in the argument—when it is to be decided whether the Presbyterian Church did right in retaining Deacon Netherland in her communion after he had killed an aged slave under "moderate correction" with a handsaw, for an offence of which he was afterwards proved innocent—Dr. Rice becomes intensely pious. The substance of his argument is contained in the following extracts from pp. 50–52.

"I proceed to state a great principle, of which Christians should never lose sight, namely: Divine grace and Divine providence are the two great agencies by which the Divine purposes in relation to mankind are fulfilled. These are the wheel within a wheel that Ezekiel saw.

"Divine grace operates through God's revealed truth, ordinarily taught through the instrumentality of His Church. . . . . The Church is the salt of the earth, the light of the world.

"Divine providence is sovereign, using human instrumentality or not, as God pleases. Its movements are often too deep and too high for human comprehension.

"In the accomplishment of His purposes, God has assigned to his Church a most important instrumentality. It is hers to go teach all nations—to impress Divine truth on the minds of men, and pray for the efficacious agency of the Holy Spirit. In doing this she accomplishes *the whole work* which her Saviour has committed to her hands. Then let her wait for and watch the openings and leadings of Divine providence, in relation to those things in which that providence is especially concerned.

"Now, although we have no revelation of the purposes of God to be accomplished by permitting the existence of African slavery in our country, or of the period when it is to end; yet no one who believes in the doctrine of Divine providence can doubt that God has great purposes to be accomplished by means of it. And if He has purposes to accomplish in connection with it, then none can remove it more rapidly than will be the ripening of those purposes.

"Already do we see some light on this dark subject. Great as was the wickedness of those who, for filthy lucre, tore the Africans from their native country, and sold them into slavery; many and terrible as have been the evils involved in its existence; it is still true to the praise of Divine grace, that hundreds and thousands of them have become the disciples of Christ, and are now rejoicing in heaven; and hundreds of thousands more are on their way to join them. It is true, likewise, to the praise of Divine goodness, that many of them have been enabled, by Christian and philanthropic men, to return to Africa, bearing with them Christianity and a Christian civilization, diffusing light and blessing over that dark continent. What other and further purposes God has to accomplish, in connection with slavery, we cannot know; but, whilst we deplore existing evils, and do what we can *scripturally* to remove them, let us not forget that God is glorified in bringing good out of evil—great good out of great evil—making the wrath of man to praise Him, and restraining the remainder thereof. The people of God may not become impatient, because the results from their legitimate labors are not such as they desired or expected.

"Just here we see one of the great errors of Abolitionists. Judging from any of their writings that I have seen, one would never imagine that they acknowledged Divine providence in this thing. It seems never to have occurred to them that God may have great purposes yet to be accomplished by means of it; and that they cannot defeat those purposes. *Let us not forget the wheel within a wheel.*"

These being the "great principles" upon which Dr. Rice founds himself, it is very easy for him to wind up his third lecture with the following conclusions, pp. 77–8:

"Do you ask—What is our duty with regard to slavery? I answer—

"1. Preach the Gospel to masters and slaves. There are multitudes of faithful ministers in the slave States who are preaching all that the Apostles ever preached on the subject; *and no minister is authorized to preach anything more than they preached.*

"2. Sustain the Colonization Cause. . . . . Abolitionism and Colonization will never work together. But the Colonization Cause presents a broad platform on which all friends of the slaves can stand, and work together.

"3. Let us *pray.* The Lord reigneth! He can remove slavery and every other evil from this country. He works in answer to prayer. Let us give up bitter denunciation, and meet, as the children of our Heavenly Father, at the throne of grace."

Such are the counsels of Dr. Rice in regard to the practical treatment of slavery by the Church. The concluding admonition—to "give up bitter denunciation"—is especially impressive, coming from one who has just said (p. 70),

"Now, let the fact be remembered, that Abolitionism arose under the lead of a bad man, who has long been a blaspheming infidel."

In his relation to slavery, as set forth in this pamphlet, Dr. Rice occupies precisely the position of the Presbyterian Church, namely, a systematic allowance of it, without question and without objection; only, when the question is forced upon them by individuals within the Church, or by the representatives of humanity and reform outside of it, how they can justify their indorsement of such wickedness, the Doctor and the Church take these two positions; first, that slaveholders may be Christians; next, that Christian slaveholders buy, sell, and work their chattels, not "for gain" (oh! no! certainly not!), but from a disinterested regard for the best good of the chattels themselves.

For our part, we esteem the hypocritical-religious defence of slavery as the worst of its many abominable defences. Well said Nina, that the defence of slavery on religious grounds, calmly elaborated by her brother Tom's pious lawyer, was worse even than her brother Tom's swearing.

If we may draw a simile from the pugilistic combats that have become so fashionable of late, the Church is the "bottle-holder" of slavery. The pugilist, ordinarily, is quite able to take care of himself; but, after fighting awhile, he must fall back, applying to his second for rest, refreshment and encouragement; and from this zealous friend he receives precisely that help in time of need that enables him to win the fight. So the slaveholder, by brutal violence and brazen impudence, is generally able to sustain himself unabashed; but when, occasionally, he feels himself exposed to public view in the full meanness and baseness of a tyrant over the defenceless—of one "strong with the weak"—then he turns for help to the pliant and voluble Doctor of Divinity, and learns from him the monstrous pretence that, in his business of slaveholder or slave-trader, he is conscientiously practising the Golden Rule.

* Dr. Rice lays great stress upon the second clause of this ingenious definition. He admits afterwards (p. 13) that slavery "originated in violence and wickedness." He takes care not to explain how the original violence and wickedness became transformed, in the lapse of years, into "a right" of the master to the service of the slave. He quietly takes this for granted. And no doubt, after this concession, the slaveholders, his former parishioners, were very willing to be lectured, now and then, upon their "corresponding obligation."

If a band of robbers were so fortunate as to number among them a Doctor of Divinity, with a tendency to moral philosophy, they would probably be very willing to "accent" from him this definition of their peculiar occupation: "Robbery is a man's right to the property of any weaker person, involving the corresponding obligation to leave the latter enough to keep him from starving."

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT CUMMINGTON, MASS.

CUMMINGTON, Mass., Sept. 3. 1860.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE annual Convention of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in Cummington, Mass., was held at the Free Church, Sept. 1st and 2nd. The Convention was addressed by Parker Pillsbury, Charles C. Burleigh, H. Ford Douglass and Susan B. Anthony.

H. Ford Douglass presented for discussion the following resolution, which he defended with earnestness and eloquence.

Resolved, That although we are seeking, by moral means alone, the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves, yet we would not, in view of the terrible wrong done to four million people, do less than thank God, if some black John Brown should arise among his fellows, and, imitating the example of the fathers of Seventy six, terminate at once the unrighteous infringement of personal liberty, though every slaveholder in the South should be made to pay the penalty with his life.

C. C. Burleigh opposed the resolution, presenting with the most perfect clearness the great encouragements to labor for the emancipation of the slave by the dissemination of Christian principles, showing that the truth, which has its source in God, cannot be met with effectual hindrance in working out a peaceful and happy deliverance of every slave; while the weapon of violence recoils upon him who wields it. The discussion of this resolution, which was withdrawn by Mr. Douglass in consideration of one presented by Parker Pillsbury of similar import, excited great interest, while the powerful appeals for the slave by Parker Pillsbury cannot be forgotten, awakening an interest that continues among the people, creating profitable discussion and leading many to renewed activity and labor for the liberation of the slave.

The following resolutions were the subject of discussion:

1. Resolved, That in three recent speeches of Senator Sumner of Massachusetts we see painful demonstration of the bewildering and depraving effect of American politics, and of governmental union with slaveholders; the first being a four hours' argument to prove the five-fold barbarism and entire unconstitutionality of slavery; the second, a partial reproduction of the same argument, with a most absurd indorsement of the Chicago platform, which platform nowhere pronounces slavery a crime, though virtually declaring the brave Capt. John Brown *one of the gravest of criminals;* and the third being a full indorsement of that platform, even its condemnation of Capt. John Brown, and a most powerful appeal to the people to elect Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, whose past record as respects slavery falls below the standard of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and many other eminent men, slaveholders and others, who once composed the Whig party, and whose pledges and promises, should he be elected, have less of hope for humanity and the slave in them, than had the general utterances of Webster and Clay in the last ten years of their lives.

2. Resolved, That the government of the United States is a deliberate con-piracy against liberty and humanity, a grand and consolidated despotism, crushing down into interminable and hopeless bondage millions of immortal men and women, robbing them of every right, and rendering life itself a grievous curse, and then compelling all who live under that despotism to become soldiers, to shoot down insurrectionary slaves on the one hand, and merciless bloodhounds to howl on the track of the flying fugitive on the other.

3. Resolved, That in these respects the government has not been changed, from Washington and his Fugitive Slave law of 1793 to Millard Fillmore and his seven-fold more atrocious enactment of 1850, still in force, and the efficiency of which Abraham Lincoln assures the country *he will do nothing to impair.*

4. Resolved, therefore, That the enslaved millions of the South have no more to hope for themselves and their posterity from a Republican administration pledged and devoted to the Union, as at present contemplated, than from the Federal and Whig parties of the past, or the Democratic administration of the present hour.

5. Resolved, That treason to such a government is a most religious duty, and the best evidence we can give of loyalty to the higher law of humanity and God; and, as subjects of that divine authority, we hereby declare that we will never obey the Fugitive Slave laws of Washington and Millard Fillmore, for Abraham Lincoln or any other President, nor will we assist in suppressing slave insurrections, but on the contrary, our sympathies and hopes shall be with every uprising Nat Turner or John Brown, and our hands too, so far as we can consistently and conscientiously render them more material comfort and aid.

6. Resolved, That as the government of the country is a most daring despotism, so the popular prevailing religion is downright atheism, and more to be dreaded than any acknowledged heathenism; its God is a monster bloody as Moloch; its Bible, *as interpreted by its priesthood*, is a bold and blasphemous apology for all the crimes and cruelties which its impure devotees, both priests and people, wish to perpetuate; its cost makes the burdens which the old Scribes and Pharisees once laid on men's shoulders, as rebuked by Jesus, easy and light; its worship is as cold as Jewish ceremonies, as empty as pagan rites, and as devoid of humanity as the sacrifices of Juggernaut; its best benefits are scarcely worth possessing at any price, being neither righteousness nor temperance, peace nor purity, love, nor liberty, nor progressive growth into higher and diviner life, all of which have to be sought in instrumentalities outside of the Church, and attained generally in spite of the Church; and the only hope for our deliverance from sin and its consequences, and the establishment of a holier faith, is in the utter extermination of such a religion and worship from the whole face of the country, North as well as South.

The foregoing resolutions were adopted as the measure of the sentiment of the anti-slavery men and women of Cummington and vicinity at the present hour.

HIRAM BROWN, President.

NELSON BROWN, Assistant Secretary.

REVIVAL PREACHING.—We had occasion recently, in speaking of Rev. Charles G. Finney, the famous revival preacher, to allude to his habit of ignoring the anti-slavery question, or of making no issue in respect to it that would prevent a persistent supporter of slavery from uniting with the Church. The Richmond, Va., *Presbyterian* (Old School), having copied our paragraph, made this comment:

"No man has had a better opportunity of witnessing the effect of abolition preaching than Mr. Finney. Whenever it has been introduced into a congregation where the Spirit of God was at work, it has had a blighting influence upon the promise of a rich harvest. It has uniformly engendered emulation and strife and variance and wrath—grieving and quenching the Spirit—and Mr. Finney, as a revivalist, is wise in refraining from meddling with the matter. Would that others were as wise as he."

It is not the Spirit of God, but a spirit of quite another sort, that is "grieved and quenched" by anti-slavery preaching—the spirit, namely, of selfishness, despotism and sectarian ambition. The Spirit of God loves to dwell where sin is boldly rebuked, where the oppressed and the downtrodden are tenderly remembered, and where the principles of the Gospel are faithfully applied to every institution and custom of society. The "strife, variance and wrath" that follow the preaching of a pure Christianity are only the fulfilment of Christ's own prediction as to the effects that would follow the proclamation of his gospel of righteousness among the workers of iniquity.

"KIRWAN."—Read the characteristic letter of this venomous hater of abolitionism (the Rev. Dr. Murray, of Elizabethtown, N. J.), copied in our Pro-Slavery department this week from *The New York Observer.* We commend it especially to the attention of Abolitionists in England, who will discover in the spirit it exhibits confirmation of all that we have said of his pro-slavery character. His abuse of Mr. Chamerovzow, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, shows how deeply he felt that gentleman's exposure of his true character. That he was able, by his plausible professions of anti-slavery, to deceive not a few honest friends of the slave in Great Britain, is not so much a matter of surprise as of regret, especially when we consider that, although he has always acted with the pro-slavery party, he has not made himself conspicuous by any particular act or speech which the public cares to remember. The day is not distant, we hope, when such "wolves in sheep's clothing" will find it impossible to worm themselves into British pulpits and seats of honor in British ecclesiastical assemblies.

ANTI-SLAVERY DEPOSITORY AT ALBANY.—We congratulate the friends of the anti-slavery cause in this State upon the announcement, which will be found in another column, that an Anti-Slavery Depository has been opened at Albany. We anticipate great good from this new instrumentality at the Capital of the Empire State, which ought long since to have been made a centre of anti-slavery influence. Miss Mott, by her thorough acquaintance with the cause, her warm zeal and business habits, is admirably qualified to direct this new agency.

RELIGIOUS REFORM CONVENTION.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

A RELIGIOUS Reform Convention, of deep interest and sterling character, has just been held here. It was attended with excellent success, both in spirit and numbers. Among those in attendance as speakers were PARKER PILLSBURY, PHILIP D. MOORE, of Newark, N. J., SUSAN B. ANTHONY, LUCY N. COLMAN, and your correspondent.

In this, as in almost every gathering in these times, the slavery question was the prominent theme of discussion. It is the central pivot upon which everything else revolves. In *The Herald's* phrase, the "Almighty Nigger" is well nigh omnipresent. May he never be less so until there is reparation for his long-endured, grievous wrongs, and his rights as a human being are equally recognized with those of all other men.

Resolutions were adopted, by a large vote, declaring it the duty of the United States Senators and Representatives of the Northern States, instead of again assembling at Washington, to call a Convention, inviting the attendance, or representation, of the people from all parts of the country, in which to declare the present unholy, slaveholding alliance at an end, and to proceed to organize a new Republic, free from the unjust idea that man can hold property in his fellow-man, and based upon the inherent right of every human being to liberty, and to full and equal protection in the enjoyment thereof. I would enclose the resolutions for your readers, but they are not now in my possession, and you may possibly get them from some other correspondent. The day, I trust, is speedily on the wing, which shall usher in the era wherein there must needs be a more general familiarity with the thought of a new Republic, to be founded, in fact as well as in name, upon the immutable principles of JUSTICE and EQUALITY. The acorn of the new structure has been well planted in the best American soil, its germination has been duly chronicled by the anti-slavery movement, it is now making a healthful, strong and reasonably rapid growth. God abides therein, and with our continued, faithful, fostering care, freedom for the slave and our fondest hopes shall in due time be realized.

I find, somewhat more than usual, the *drilling* exercise in progress among the political troops, especially among Republicans, but I have never known in this State, upon the eve of a Presidential election, so little spontaneous, hearty enthusiasm among the people. There is much confusion in the ranks of the so-called Democrats. In the Bell-Everett division death reigns as really as in the tomb of Washington. Republicans look sad and unhappy, offering no defence, as we endeavor to make plain to them their shortcomings in efforts to make a President and to inaugurate an administration of government, looking, among other things, to efficient service in slave-catching, as, by their candidate, they are distinctly and unmistakably assured.

In concluding this letter, let me add a word of this delightful village of Ellenville, one of the pleasantest I have ever found in the State. It contains about two thousand inhabitants, is characterized by a lively business enterprise, and has among its citizens quite a large circle of more than ordinarily intelligent men and women of strongly-marked liberal tendencies. It is located in a most picturesque and beautiful valley through which passes the Rondout Creek, and the Delaware and Hudson Canal, at the western base of the Shawangunk mountain. This mountain is a spur of the Catskills, and from its summit, at High Point, the magnificent view is only surpassed by that from the Catskill Mountain House. The Ice Cave, wherein yesterday I enjoyed the rare sport (at this time of year) of sliding upon solid ice, and the luxury of genuine ice water; an unnamed, but very extensive and deep ravine; the Falls; and the Ulster Lead Mine; are all objects of much interest to the visitor.

I am under great obligations to Mr. M. Deponai and family for abundant kindness, and very liberal hospitality.

There is promise of a series of good meetings in this and Sullivan Counties.

Very truly yours, A. M. P.

Ellenville, Ulster County, N. Y., Sept. 11, 1860.

A NEW AND TRUE ARTIST.

IN an attic story on Broadway, up so many flights of stairs that few visitors have as yet found their way into it, is an artist's studio, into which, every morning, goes an obscure young man, who, without waiting to waste a moment in idleness, immediately throws off his coat, rolls up his sleeves, puts his little Scotch cap on his head, begins the modelling of some small figure in clay, continues at his task while the light lasts, but who, after a fair day's work, never goes home with a fair day's wages. He is a stranger in the city, having come, a few months ago, from a town in Massachusetts; and as yet his acquaintances are few, his friends fewer, and his patrons fewest of all. But he brought with him a little money, with which he hired a little room with a bare floor, trusting to his skill to fill it with works of art which people who have money to spend would be pleased to buy. His first work was a testimony to that love of freedom which was born in him under the shadow of his New England hills; an admirable group of four figures, called "The Slave Auction," representing a negro, with his wife and child, standing under the hammer of an auctioneer—the father in defiance, the mother in grief, the child in fear. The figures are expressively modelled, and the effect produced upon the observer is one of mingled admiration and indignation. When the artist finished his work, he carried it for exhibition and sale to some of the most prominent stores on Broadway in which works of art are exhibited and sold; but the proprietors of these establishments, remembering that they had a Southern trade to preserve and a Northern conscience to stifle, rejected the guilty plaster cast as if it had been a living, breathing conspiracy against the safety of the Union. But notwithstanding this double indignity to the artist—first to his art, and then to his heart—he neither changed his politics, nor broke his work in pieces, nor gave up in despair. Not he! For his name is John Rogers, and he is a direct descendant of the John Rogers who insisted on following his conscience though it led him into the Smithfield fire. The young martyr went back again to his garret, and immediately began some other works which he modelled with equal enthusiasm, and finished with equal skill. Among these is a piece of two figures called "The Checker Players," in which one fortunate fellow is very merry over his victory, and the other is ludicrously perplexed over his defeat. Another work is a group of earnest disputants, illustrating Goldsmith's description of the village schoolmaster, who never knew when he had lost his case—

"For e'en though vanquished he could argue still."

Mr. Rogers is now engaged on what promises to be his finest work, "The Fairy's Whisper;" representing the lightsome figure of a fairy, rising out of a cluster of fern leaves, and whispering in the ear of a child, whose beautiful face is moulded into a sweet and winning expression.

"Celestial footfalls she can hear,
Inaudible to grosser ear."

Such of the artist's works as are already completed may be reproduced in plaster, and copies purchased at a moderate cost, and sent by express to any part of the country.

We hope that the next mail may bring him orders from some of the friends who are accustomed to put confidence in the art notices of this journal, and that especially "The Slave Auction," the price of which is only five dollars, may be allowed to tell its stirring story in many homes in the free States.

These commendatory lines are written without the artist's knowledge of the writer, and are here printed solely from a conviction that the public will be glad of this hint that the fourth story of No. 599 Broadway is the hiding-place of a man of genius, who, though unrecognized and unrewarded, is yet brave enough to work in patience, to feed on faith, and to live for an idea.

THEODORE TILTON.

DOOM OF A FILIBUSTER.—The notorious Gen. William Walker, the agent employed by the Southern Fire-eaters to conquer Central America for the purpose of extending slavery over that territory and ultimately annexing it to the United States, and who lately made a successful descent upon Truxillo, a town in Honduras, after being driven from the place by British interference, was subsequently captured with all his remaining force and turned over to the government of Honduras, to be dealt with according to his deserts. The last advices from that quarter make it almost certain that he has been already shot, and that his deluded followers, after promising never to renew their filibustering projects, were allowed to embark for the United States.

THE SLANDERS OF THE CHURCHMAN.

NEWBURGH, N. Y., September 12th, 1860.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: In your issue of Saturday, the 8th inst., are two extracts from a contemporary of yours, *The Churchman.* The second of these extracts contains, amongst other flagitious and bigoted assertions, the following: "Not only have the emancipated negroes in the British possessions ceased to be useful to others, but they are in a much worse condition, physically and morally, than they were while held in a state of slavery." Possibly the writer was laboring under some peculiar idiosyncratic hallucination when he sat down to pen the above. I will only say that, while he utters a base and foul slander against the emancipated colored people of "the British possessions," he exhibits the grossest ignorance of the people against whom he belches forth his senseless rhodomontade. It certainly is astonishing how persistently the enemies and oppressors of the slave continue, in spite of the most indubitable evidence, to misrepresent and belie the free people of color, in order to prop up the tottering fabric which the slaveocracy erected by the blood, thews and sinews of that unfortunate race, and the foundations of which the moral sensibilities of outraged humanity are fast undermining.

They are not satisfied to rivet the shackles of the poor, downtrodden slave more firmly by their venal and unscrupulous advocacy of the slaveowner in the Southern section of the United States, but they must needs travel out of their course to the British possessions for the purpose of finding instances to fortify them in sustaining that "abomination of desolation," that "accursed thing"—slavery. Do these insane propagandists of pro-slavery sentiments and views believe that, were the case and condition of the emancipated colored people in the "British possessions" actually as they represent them, Lord Brougham and Mr. C. Buxton and their distinguished coadjutors would continue their advocacy? Would not the arms of these noble and great philanthropists have been paralyzed? If the twenty millions of pounds sterling, granted by the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain to indemnify the West Indian proprietors for the liberation of their human chattels, were really bestowed in vain, were there not persons, are there not persons, in England, to publish to the world the colored people's ingratitude, and the obfuscation of their moral sense? We rejoice to know that the condition of the emancipated people is positively different from what such writers as that in *The Churchman* would lead people to believe.

As a West Indian and a clergyman, having had ample opportunities to observe the progress and elevation of the colored people in the British West Indies, I emphatically deny the assertion of *The Churchman.* Could the writer of that libel visit the Antilles, and enter our legislative halls, cross the threshold of our magisterial courts, glance into our mercantile establishments, peep into our printing offices, and, more particularly, into the editorial *sanctum;* view the villages and farms, step into the lecture rooms of the collegiate institutions, and, on parade or drill days, enter the parade ground, he would collect a vast amount of information and facts, that would go a great way to open his eyes and disabuse his benighted mind with respect to the condition of the free people in the British possessions.

I have devoted several years to the study of this subject. I have, in several of the most valued of the English possessions in our Western Cyclades, watched and observed the progress of the much maligned and abused free people of color; and the only conclusion I can arrive at is, that in their social, civil, and moral condition, they have attained to a prominence, and arrived at so high a degree of preëminence, as raise them above the pro-slavery vision of their oppressors.

I have arrived but a few days since from the West Indies, and though it was not my intention to write for any paper, I was led to trouble you with the above remarks, lest, by the silence of one who had it in his power, from actual observations, to rebuke the arrogance of such writers as *The Churchman*, and contradict statements that are calculated to prejudice the cause of outraged humanity, the friends of the slave might be shamed into silence.

I shall be happy, if you desire it, to furnish facts to show that the free people of color in the British possessions appreciate freedom, enjoy its sweets, and are, "physically and morally," much better off *now* than ever they were in the "palmiest days" of "slavery."

I remain, etc., JOHN G. URLING,
A West Indian Clergyman.

POLITICAL RELATIONS.—IV.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE *government of himself*, as an individual, may justly be regarded as the *germ* of government, on any scale and under any application which any man, amidst his social relations, may aid in constructing. It is, under every form and modification, essentially the same entity. From the throne of God to the most retired nook where the feeblest child of Adam may strive to honor his responsibilities, it naturally reposes on the same basis. Whatever this may be, it is equally appropriate to individuals, to families and to communities. The attempts which may be made in any one case, illustrate, negatively or affirmatively, the methods which should be employed in any other.

Let us study this subject a little in the light of the experiments which have already been made. Full many a man of our acquaintance has made the incidents of his existence the basis of his activity. With one, the accumulation of wealth is the commanding object of his plans and endeavors; another strains every nerve to reach the goal of preferment; whilst a third is engrossed with animal indulgence and gratification. Success in any such pursuit is far from essential to the development and maturity of the nature we have inherited. But incidentally, wealth, preferment, pleasure, may be interesting to our thoughts and affections. Whether, however, I may be rich or poor, whether my social position may be high or low, is a mere incident in my history. Now, if I adjust myself to this as the end of my existence, can I acquire what may deserve the name of self-government? Can I thus rise to inward strength and harmony? Shall I thus become vigorously, beautifully, blessedly A MAN—THE HUMAN within me attaining thus symmetry, strength and grandeur—reaching thus certainly and triumphantly the proper ends of my existence? The votaries of avarice, ambition and sensuality, as such, give to selfishness a controlling influence in their aims, plans and exertions. And do they ever rise to the dignity of self-government? Are they in harmony with themselves? Does not their history clearly prove that they are rent and torn—are the victims of inward dissension? They find themselves strangely impelled to wield their powers and lay out their resources in promoting objects and subserving designs which they themselves regard with shame and abhorrence. They are manifestly in a state of anarchy, driven hither and thither by blind forces on whose mercy they had madly thrown themselves—embarrassed, crippled, crushed. While they continue what they are, adjusting and devoting themselves to the incidents of their existence, they never attain to self-control. And when the men and women so to be described enter into the domestic relations, and attempt to build up families, the same results, on a larger scale, force themselves upon our observation. The incidents, in distinction from the constructive principles, of our humanity, are here but too often made the basis of exertion and enjoyment. Selfishness, in one form or another, exerts a controlling influence. And confusion and misery are the inevitable result. The ends for which domestic life is naturally animated and organized are wantonly sacrificed. And amidst the specious shows which are sometimes witnessed here lurks anarchy, many-headed and stony-hearted. Illustrations, distressingly appropriate and convincing, everywhere abound.

And what is a *nation*, but a family expanded and enlarged? The one and the other are constructed of the same material, and placed amidst essentially the same relations. The objects of pursuit and the modes of exertion which are adapted to the one are appropriate to the other. Often the incidents of our humanity, as in families so in nations, are made the basis of arrangement and exertion. Thus selfishness is invoked and relied upon as the presiding genius. It is very generally affirmed that while all this is, it is by stern necessity. Civil government not only is, it *must be*, so constructed and so regulated. The best that can be attempted and expected in such a world as this, where the blind and reckless multitude are in the ascendancy, is a kind of ORGANIZED ANARCHY! Hence the maxim, so often repeated and so generally received, that, among governments, that is "best, which governs least." And this startling conclusion is confirmed by the history of mankind. They find themselves, amidst their political relations, not guided, but misled—not encouraged, but depressed—not protected, but exposed and injured. Government they describe, as deliberately as universally, as a "*necessary evil.*"

The application of this to our republic I reserve for another paper. BERIAH GREEN.

SCOTLAND.

A CORRESPONDENT in Edinburgh sends us the following brief but cheering words:

"At present the Tricentenary celebration of the John Knox Reformation is being held in Edinburgh. You will be glad to hear that Dr. Guthrie has delivered a noble opening sermon, which thrilled his audience and made them cheer, although it is not usual here to cheer sermons. I am informed that, at the opening, the Committee of Arrangements passed a resolution that no slavery-upholder from America should be allowed to appear at the meetings. I really think our cause is onward. Another of our city ministers prayed earnestly the other day that the eyes of American ministers might be opened to see the enormity of the sin they were sustaining. I send Dr. Guthrie's speech, but if there is a better report, shall try to send that also."

It was strongly desired by many friends of Dr. Cheever that he should attend this great and interesting meeting in Edinburgh, but we learn that other engagements prevented his doing so, to the regret, we doubt not, of very many.

GLITTERING GENERALITIES!—Senator Seward, in a speech recently delivered at Madison, Wisconsin, uttered himself in the following words:

"It has been by a simple rule of interpretation I have studied the Constitution of my country. That rule has been simply this: That by no word, no act, no combination into which I might enter, should any one human being of all the generations to which I belong, much less any class of human beings of any nation, race or kindred, be oppressed and kept down in the least degree in their efforts to rise to a higher state of liberty and happiness (applause). Amid all the glosses of the times, amid all the essays and discussions to which the Constitution of the United States has been subjected, this has been the simple, plain, broad light in which I have read every article and every section of that great instrument. Whenever it requires of me that this hand shall keep down the humblest of the human race, then I will lay down power, place, position, fame, everything, rather than adopt such a construction or such a rule (applause). If, therefore, in this land there are any who would rise, I say to them, in God's name, good speed! If there are in foreign lands people who would improve their condition by emigration, or if there be any here who would go abroad in search of happiness, in the improvement of their condition, or in their elevation toward a higher state of dignity and happiness, they have always had, and they always shall have, a cheering word and such efforts as I can consistently make in their behalf (applause)."

The Tribune copies the above passage and exclaims:

"What noble sent

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU....XXXIX.

AUGUST 27th, 1860.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: Your fellow-citizens seem to be taking things very quietly about the Presidential election. We do not remember any previous election which made so little noise. Two months hence we shall better know why. It does amuse us that, while so serious a business is on hand, there should be time or attention to spare for the Brougham and Dallas anecdote. The comments of various American newspapers are so odd that I have no doubt they amuse my neighbor, Lord Brougham, and his guests (always filling his house at this season) even more than the original incident. The suppositions of a plot—of a conspiracy between Lord Brougham and Dr. Delany—are very absurd, and show a want of acquaintance with Lord Brougham's peculiarities. He is like an overgrown boy in his love of a prank. He is fond of inflicting surprises—and the more annoying they are, the more his face twitches with mischievous delight. He particularly enjoys having to apologize for a prank, as it gives him an opportunity of aggravating the first infliction. These things being perfectly well understood by everybody here, you may imagine how undignified the displeasure of William Dallas and his friends must appear. As to the matter of fact, Lord Brougham was right. A negro gentleman was present: and the presence of a negro gentleman thoroughly discredited Mr. Dallas's views and course of action. Lord Brougham could not resist the temptation of trying a hint to this effect on the American minister; and he did it in a way which cannot be excused. It was an act of inhospitality and bad manners; and the advantage, as to temper and good breeding, would have remained with Mr. Dallas if he could have behaved in a manly and good-humored way. He was not equal to this: and his friends at home seem to be unaware that nothing better than ridicule attaches to helpless complaints of having been uncivilly treated. If the insulted person has a strong cause to fall back upon, he is, and should see himself to be, superior to wrong. If he has not a good cause to fall back upon, it is simply a confession of weakness to whine about ill-usage. As to the particular case, the probability is that Lord Brougham's eye was struck with a black face among the assembled statisticians, and that what passed in his mind was, "Bless me! there's a black man! and there's Dallas! I'll put them face to face, and see how they look." Mr. Dallas did not look so wise or so calm as a diplomatist should look: and, no doubt, his tormenter was all the better pleased. A well-bred word of acquiescence, cheerfully spoken at the moment, would have won consideration for Mr. Dallas, as a foreigner, and would have given the right cue to his followers. But *he* was disconcerted, and *they* bluster when there is nothing to be done: and thus they cut the worst possible figure under circumstances which they might have turned to good account. We hear, with great satisfaction, that Mrs. Putnam had a pleasant voyage home. The stir made, in and out of Parliament, about admitting prejudice of color on board British ships will, we trust, prevent any repetition of the ill-usage inflicted on Mrs. Putnam and her party.

While this letter is going on board ship to-morrow, the Queen's Speech, proroguing Parliament, will be read. To-day she is holding a Council at Balmoral, to agree upon the Speech; and to-morrow the weary remnant of the two Houses will begin their holiday, after a session of seven months, made all the more wearing for the small amount of legislation achieved. There is an intention of appointing a Committee, at the beginning of next session, to consider and report on the best arrangement for getting the increasing business of the country done, in the Commons. If any means could be devised for checking the flow of Irish oratory, it would be an immense saving of the national time and convenience. For this purpose the Irish constituencies should choose better representatives—men of a better business quality, more sense and less vanity. As some of the best representatives in the House are Irish, we see what the happy consequences would be if the men who love to hear themselves talk could be exchanged for some who prefer working. There are some English members, no less wasteful of the public time, and forgetful of the public business. Freedom of debate is, of course, not to be interfered with even in imagination; but it is bad policy to send up to Parliament vain and light men who compel the inquiry how our business is to be done if the weakest members neutralize the strength of the legislature by thrusting aside its action by their talk. The difficulty is a perpetual encouragement to the reactionary part of the Lords' House to thrust its hand into the affairs of the Commons, to help them with their business. The height to which the evil has risen this session may be no matter of regret in the end if it brings about a reform. Almost every good measure has been left over to another year; but this may be a warning to secure a better method in another year. Meantime, there are at least two great blessings remaining over from the session. One is the broad enlargement of our trade with France (and, by the same act, with all nations); and the other is the clear establishment of an understanding with all the world about our foreign policy, by which the policy of other countries is largely influenced. We don't much care, on our own account, for being misunderstood; but the thing becomes of high importance when other governments are misled by it.

A remarkable instance has occurred since I wrote last; and the fact is of such significance as to deserve watching in its development. You do not need to be told that the policy of England is to leave all nations perfect liberty (as far as she is concerned) to manage their affairs in their own way; and to discountenance, with all her influence, every attempt made on any hand to meddle. In steadily pursuing this principle, our government is constantly blamed by somebody or other; but we are so sure of the rectitude of the principle, that we are not likely to change it. England acknowledges every *de facto* government, be it what it may—as in France, the Bourbons, the Orleanists, the Republic, the Bonapartes. Respect to the French nation and its liberties requires that the government it places on the throne should be acknowledged without controversy; and, in a similar deference to the rights of any other nation, German, Dutch, Italian or other, England always treats the ruling authority exactly in the same way, whatever its name may be. Naturally, each defeated party complains, under the persuasion that the aid of England would have enabled it to succeed. We have our preferences, of course, as a matter of opinion, intellectual and moral. We had rather see a republic than a despotism in France, for instance. The Emperor knows that very well: but the French nation preferred a despotism, in the hope of peace and quiet; and all that England had to do was to respect its decision. If it should ever find itself so far disappointed in its choice as to recur to Republican institutions, we shall all rejoice, from the highest to the lowest; but we cannot lend a hand, any more than we did to further any former scheme of government. It is the same with Italy. We wished well to Piedmont against Austria last year; and we feared mischief from the meddling and domineering tendencies of the French government; and all that happened has strengthened us in our chosen policy. Just now it has come out that the Germans (not only the princes, but too many of the people) are hardly beginning to understand us in this matter, and have been nourishing the most absurd hopes accordingly. They did not believe, any more than Russia, that we could have a real alliance with France; and our recent necessary criticisms on the Emperor's government and its international behavior have actually made the Germans fancy that we would withdraw our countenance from Italy, for the sake of substituting close German alliances for the French! We have lost no time in explaining that our sympathy with the Italians is steady and hearty; that the alliance with the French nation will certainly not be broken by us, as long as the French nation chooses to take care that its own government does its own work properly; and that England will never enter into any alliance for purposes of interference with any nation on earth as to its mode of political life. The French Emperor is now wholly isolated, it is true; but this is not from any coalition against him, but simply because nobody trusts him. Everybody disbelieves what he says, and distrusts what he does; but, because English and Germans and Russians and Belgians all feel alike about him, it does not follow that they will change towards the Italians on that account. We shall not draw closer to Austria in regard to Venice because we understand the villany of the overtures made at Villafranca against Russia. We shall go on sympathizing with liberty whatever it is in action, and recognizing every established authority in every country, without meddling with its quality, just as we should expect if such an inconceivable thing should occur as an unsettlement of the government of Great Britain. We should expect every nation in Europe and America to recognize the *de facto* ruler, whether King, Dictator, Republican Council, or other. We should also expect that any one of them which should attempt to give support to one party in the nation rather than another would be brought to order by the rest, just as we are now watching over the national rights of Italy and the Porte against interference from any quarter. All this has been made clear by the excellent conduct of our Ministers about Foreign affairs, during this session. As for the French Emperor, Garibaldi and the Italian patriots are going on in their own way without stopping for his leave. His letter to Persigny has done him no good in England, while it has excited strong displeasure at Paris; and his understanding with the Czar is not so good as he and others believed it was.

Some of the worst recent news comes from Russia. At this time, when, in order to fulfil the Imperial promises about serf emancipation, every rouble that can be saved should be laid by for the fund which is to guarantee the value of the land to the owners (which is an indispensable condition of emancipation); at this time, when the peasants should be protected with extreme care to enable them to fulfil the conditions, and begin to support themselves: at this very time the fact comes out that the Emperor's want of money is so pressing that 10 per cent. of the peasants' taxes for next year has been levied, in addition to the whole due for this year! Thus, when the Emperor and his government should be fulfilling their pledges, without which emancipation cannot take place, they will not only be without funds, but will have only 90 per cent. of the ordinary income to reckon on. I have not room to-day for an illustrative anecdote on this serf subject. If more pressing matters do not drive it out of my head, perhaps I may send it next time. But your mails must now bring interesting news, I should think, from this time till November.

H. M.

New Publications.

SERMONS AND OTHER DISCOURSES: with brief Biographical Hints. By BERIAH GREEN. 12mo., pp. 556. New York: S. W. Green.

THIS volume is, we believe, the first and only one that has appeared from the pen of Beriah Green now for many years. It will, doubtless, be very welcome to those at least who, privileged from time to time to hear his voice, have found occasion to recognize in him a genuine and a signal man—a philanthropist, upstanding, large-souled and warm-hearted—a thinker of no ordinary depth and compass, and a preacher of singular clearness, point and power. Outside this circle, in no wise a large one, Beriah Green has remained, for the most part, slightly known; for while he has spoken often and much, he has written seldom and little.

Some of the Discourses we recognize as having been published before, mostly in pamphlet form. We should have preferred that the book had been made up in larger part from his more recent utterances. As, however, it is apparently intended to be, in a measure, autobiographic, it doubtless seemed good to the author to take a somewhat free range over the past years, selecting and bringing forward such things as might be illustrative of his views and attitude amid the relations in which he has from time to time been placed. The range of subjects is not wide, but those chosen are of great significance. Such topics as Education, Civil Government, Institutional Arrangements generally, Work and Wages, the purport of Redemption, the nature of Freedom, etc., are evermore of vital import, and well worthy of fixed attention and the most earnest, dispassionate study.

They are discussed profoundly and faithfully. The conclusions wrought out and commended are comprehensive, weighty, and every way quickening. We wish we had time to particularize, and instance some of those passages that have most impressed us. But our limits forbid, and we can speak of the work only briefly and generally.

One thought pervades throughout—that of the absolute supremacy, the all-sovereign authority of the Throne of the Eternal, of great Truth and Justice. They are the life of the world, the soul and substance of whatever has vitality, worth, permanence among men. Here is wisdom and strength, the secret spring of all accomplishment and success. Fidelity is achievement, and unfaithfulness is failure and defeat. The ideal is the standard, to which everything must be carefully adjusted. All usages and institutions are tried in this light, and each to be accepted as good and worthy only as it may conform to and symbolize the inner Verities. There is warm appreciation of heroism in life, and especially high adoration of Jesus as "the Hero of all Heroes," realization utmost of the perfections of wisdom, virtue and nobleness in history. And there is correspondingly deep disgust and abhorrence of all baseness. He has indignant loathing and abomination for those wretched idols before whom the multitudes bow down and worship—those cunning, soulless quacks and jugglers who, vaulting up perpetually into the high places of society, busy themselves but to bewitch and bewilder, to befool and destroy.

One *spirit* pervades throughout—that of deep-toned, reverent, unswerving loyalty. Everything is acquired through this. "We thus acquire actual possession of all that may be adapted to invigorate and enrich and refresh. We carry in our bosoms a title-deed, signed, sealed and recorded on high, of the starry heavens, of the unfathomable oceans, of the earth, broad, green and beautiful" (p. 337). Each thing in thought is estimated through its relation to life; it is valuable as it may be appropriated and incarnated in character. Throughout the entire book there is a singular absence of all speculation, as such. He seeks not to know beyond the sphere of the practical.

Some of his readers will hardly feel satisfied here; they will wish that he might have expressed himself more fully upon some of the problems that lie, in part at least, in the field of speculative inquiry. What would he say of the soul, its power, prerogatives, possibilities—of the question of authority, the relation of any Book or Name to the growth and culture of the individual spirit—of the infinite ideal greater than all history—of Nature and the Universal Providence, in its relations, so manifold and varying, yet constant and ever-vital, to man? These questions are of import, and, although not untouched, are yet nowhere, that we find, largely discussed in the present volume. We would gladly hear him at length upon them, especially as the hints dropped incite us, intimating of the much he might say, and leaving us to wish that he had given us here his freest, most copious suggestions. Perhaps, indeed, devoted as he has all along been, ardently and steadfastly, to the practical, drawn in that direction through multiplied occasions from without, prompted, as he has found himself everywhere in the midst of polished, pretentious speculators and babbling triflers, to affirm with emphasis the paramount obligations of *doing*, he has come, if not to overlook, somewhat to underestimate speculative inquiry, generally accounting it as comparatively of light or trivial worth. Certain it is, however, that no man can in any case overestimate the worth of character.

Of the themes that he does bring under our notice, Beriah Green has great right to speak, and his fellows much occasion to hear. For it is the voice of a man "living man-like," of one who has wrought the truths whereof he affirms into the fibre of his own personality. There is no more luminous history in our own country than this. It is a career throughout of high loyalty and unyielding bravery. At the earliest day he espoused the cause of the American slave, standing by and for human nature, well nigh solitary and alone, and at cost, as it proved, of high professional position, and a rising and already reputable name in the sphere of orthodox ecclesiasticism.

From that hour forth he has held on his way steadily, receiving year by year deeper baptisms in Truth, and devoting himself freely, with ever enlarging vision and greatening powers, to the cause of Justice, Freedom, Right Universal. Is there a principle in ethics to be affirmed, here overlooked, yet vital as all principle is to the maintenance of the Divine government, and the securing of human welfare—Beriah Green's voice is ready, with prompt, emphatic utterance, to affirm it. Is there unfaithfulness to be exposed, some specious surrender, or hidden compromise of the right getting admitted, "just for this once," for the sake of some all-essential advantage, otherwise sure to be lost—Beriah Green's voice is quick, at whatever cost to himself, to expose, and in earnest, scorching denunciation, rebuke it. This constantly, amid the toils and trials and pressures, neither few nor light, which the profligate and the bigoted, the stupid and half-hearted in all ages know so well how to inflict, and which he, in turn, knows so well right cheerily to meet and bravely to bear.

The book is embellished with a portrait, which we think perhaps the best Discourse of all. It is an excellent likeness, faithfully representing the face in one of the most characteristic moods. Any one who looks upon, will not be likely soon to forget, it. The eye beams intense with intelligence and the tenderness of affection, every feature is alive and enkindled, and we only wait to hear the lips speak, as they have to us so oft, of the fulness of the indwelling soul.

But, to be known, Beriah Green must be seen and heard. No description can describe him, no portrait can represent him. His own pen, even, does not do him full justice. Clear, strong, impressive, and often eloquent as his paragraphs are, he has never yet, as we think, attained to the freest utterance of himself on paper, and those who only read him remain comparatively strangers. He is most himself among men, and with the living voice. We have heard from him utterances of a massive grandeur, and thrilling, all-commanding power, nowhere in our experience surpassed—may we say equalled? When, in expounding and applying the claims of all-sovereign Justice, in some one or other department of human activity, dwelling upon the absolute supremacy, the majesty, grasp, invigoration of the Eternal Laws, the soul kindled, the inspiration became paramount, the possession taken was complete, every feature was radiant with the glow of the inner life, and the tongue went forth in trumpet-tones of matchless eloquence. None could sit unmoved in this presence; every eye was fixed, every mind awed, entranced, enraptured with the vision and the voice. The high words lifted into the realm of the Supernal, existence was baptized into new meanings; Truth, Justice, Virtue, were the only good, and all other life seemed cheap, worthless, naught. There are those to whom these experiences were signal. Hours never to be forgotten, marked and memorable evermore in the calendar of their life. Here they felt their hearts touched with a living finger, and stirred with an impulse no time can quench.

Let all who may, read this book. And let all who may, by all means, avail of opportunity to hear this voice, for such come seldom, and this one will not always stay. We are glad and grateful that so much is written. It is a rich, precious legacy. And we trust the author will yet write more and larger, that to such extent as possible the record of himself, his thought, views, the outlook of the universe to him, and the great, final conclusions to which, through long years, he has felt himself drawn and fastened, be made to abide and remain after the outer presence and audible voice shall have passed away.

M.

ALL THE YEAR ROUND.—The October number of this periodical—edited, as our readers know, by Charles Dickens—has been received from Emerson, Fitch & Co., the American publishers, 37 Park Row. Its contents are rich and varied as usual, including the last chapters of "The Woman in White," the commencement, a new story entitled "A Day's Ride—a Life's Romance," by Charles Lever, and one of Dickens's sketches under the title of "The Uncommercial Traveller." The price of *All the Year Round* is $3 per annum; monthly numbers 25 cents; weekly numbers 5 cents.

PERSONAL.

Mr. Gangooly, the converted Brahmin, has been compelled, by failing health, to abridge his stay in England, and give up his contemplated visit to Scotland.

Orestes A. Brownson, who left the ranks of reform many years since and joined the Catholic Church, recently made a Republican speech in Elizabethport, New Jersey.

Susan B. Anthony is advertised to deliver the address at the Yates County (N. Y.) Agricultural Fair, to be held at Dundee. She will be able to give her hearers the benefit of her experience as a fruit-grower.

Dorothea L. Dix has been laboring of late at the North-west, where she has been warmly received. The following, from the St. Joseph (Mo.) *Daily Evening West*, shows an instance of appreciation of her noble labors and efforts, entirely worthy of the distinguished lady herself, and of the St. Joseph Medical Society, at whose late meeting the following action was had:

"Whereas, we have learned, with much pleasure, that Miss Dix, the world-renowned philanthropist, will be in our city to-morrow, and feeling a deep sympathy with her in the many successful efforts made by her for the amelioration and restoration, in many instances, of the poor and insane, and all classes of the afflicted; therefore,

Resolved, That the members of this Society tender to Miss Dix all the information and assistance at their command, and their sincere appreciation of her humane efforts."

A correspondent of *The Christian Inquirer*, in a letter to the editor of that paper, says:

"I was glad to see, adorning your sanctum, the noble cabinet bust of THEODORE PARKER, just executed by MARGUERITE F. FOLEY, of Boston, an artist of rare gift, already appreciated, as a cameo-cutter, by an increasing circle of admirers, and destined to be more widely known and felt, as she deserves.

"I saw a life-size bust of Mr. Parker which she had blocked out in clay a year ago, and it seemed to me really finished, so far as the life of the likeness went, and my disappointment at finding *that* was not the one *now* to appear has been relieved only by the beauty and truth of the one now before the public, and by the assurance that the success of this one will demand the larger one ere long.

"This small bust represents the man in his sweetest mood, and yet with all the strength and solidity of his character. I think you will agree with me that it is a grand piece of work, and that you will sympathize in the hope that the gifted artist will soon be encouraged and required to finish the full-sized bust, that it may be put into the deserved marble."

Gerrit Smith called upon us, a few days since, having come to the city, we presume, to look after the suits for libel which he instituted, some time since, against several leading Democrats, for slanders which they heaped upon his head in connection with the Harper's Ferry affair. He is in robust health of body and mind, and has resumed the direction of his large business operations. His interest in the anti-slavery cause and in other righteous reforms is unabated.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE STANDARD.—RICHARD D. WEBB, 176 Great Brunswick street, Dublin, requires the following numbers of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD to complete a file which he keeps for the convenience of reference by any who may apply to him for the purpose. His imperfect collection having been occasionally of use in this way, he is desirous to complete it, and any of the following numbers will be thankfully received if forwarded to the care of Rev. S. May, Jr., 221 Washington street, or to the Anti-Slavery Office, 5 Beekman street, New York.

Vol. 1—Nos. 2, 10, 13, 35 to 39, 41.
2—Nos. 11, 16, 22, 23.
3—Nos. 11, 19, 33, 45, 47.
4—Nos. 13, 27, 36, 45.
5—Nos. 16, 21, 40.
6—Nos. 6, 7, 12, 29, 41, 42, 43, 46.
7—Nos. 5, 6, 8, 14, 20, 50.
8—Nos. 12, 34, 35, 49, 51.
9—Nos. 27, 33, 36.
10—Nos. 1 to 6, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20 to end.
11—Nos. 18, 38, 39.
12—Nos. 4, 40 to end.
13—Nos. 1, 3, 8, 11, 16, 18, 20, 26, 41 to end
14—Nos. 28 to end.
16—No. 29.
17—Nos. 5, 27, 42, 47.
19—Nos. 47, 48, 51.
20—Nos. 37, 38, 41, 42, 44.

CHURCH TESTIMONY.—At the recent meeting of the Stephentown Baptist Association (composed of eleven Churches), held in the Church at Berlin, Rensselaer Co., N. Y., the following resolution, presented by the Pastor, Rev. H. A. GUILD, was passed, there being but two dissenting votes:

Resolved, That we have, and can have, no sympathy with that peculiar system of American economy, the chattelization of beings created in the image of Almighty God; that, as with our Heavenly Father there is no respect of persons, so with men there should be none; that, if it would be wrong to enslave *white* men and women, then is it equally wrong to enslave *black* men and women; and that, therefore, as professed disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, we will "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them," and direct our efforts, in all proper and legal ways, for the overthrow of the giant wrong, American slavery.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH

National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary.

JANUARY, 1861.

WHEN the claim for Universal Liberty was first made in our country, the best part of a lifetime ago, the work lay wholly in futurity. The idea and the principles of Human Rights were to be replanted, the justice and necessity of their cause as against slavery to be proved, the prevailing apathy to be broken, the public mind to be awakened and enkindled, the insufficiency of a Church and State controlled by slavery to compass freedom to be demonstrated, the retrogression of the land towards barbarism under their sway to be made manifest, and freedom of speech, of the press, and of a new specific association to be claimed and exercised as the only sufficient instrumentalities of progress.

This is the initiatory work that has been done, and by it abundant opportunities of direct action have been rendered practicable. The WORK ITSELF, in a thousand shapes, now lies before us, whose privilege it has been to make ready for it. The despotism is driven into open day. To meet it, requires devotion, industry, and the sacred fire of a true enthusiasm. It requires energy, cooperation and the discipline of self-control. It requires generous contributions of money. We trust that all these indispensable requisites are now, as ever, ready.

We earnestly and cordially entreat all who love our native land in sincerity, whether Europeans or Americans, to unite with us more numerously and more generously than ever to meet the demands of a period of crises unparalleled in the history of our country—new, indeed, in the history of the world. For when before has it ever happened that Freedom has been sought from among a dominant people for a down-trodden one, on so grand a scale as this? We ask aid of Europeans, while we bid them observe that their freedom makes progress only in exact proportion as our slavery is brought into discredit. We ask aid of Americans; for where is the American to whom this cause of ours is not the supreme interest of the present hour as affording the only hope of Futurity? The work before us is ever that primary one contemplated by no other existing body, political or religious: the work that Church and Government are always tempted by the necessities of their position as such to neglect, adjourn, suppress. And the stronger the desire of their members to promote the cause, the stronger the temptation, being so placed, to temporise and to compromise.

To all these we confidently appeal for aid in the work they can neither do, nor do without.

We cordially invite all who love Liberty the world over, to meet us at the Music Hall, Boston, in the month of January next, in person or by letter, uniting their sympathies and contributions with ours in the great work of the time—the peaceful extinction of American slavery.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, L. MARIA CHILD, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ANNE WARREN WESTON, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, HELEN ELIZA GARRISON, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, CAROLINE WESTON, MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, SARAH P. ATKINSON, ELIZA ANDREW, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, SARAH P. REMOND, ABBY FRANCIS, SARAH RUSSELL MAY, ALLY KELLEY FOSTER, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, AUGUSTA G. KING, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM, ANNA SHAW GREENE, ELIZA APTHORP, MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT, MATTIE GRIFFITH, ANNE LANGDON ALGER, MARY E. STEARNS.

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE AND BOOK DEPOSITORY.

AN office, for the sale of Anti-Slavery, Temperance, Woman's Rights, Anti-Capital Punishment, Peace, Spiritual and other publications, has been established at No. 15 Steuben street, Albany, N. Y., near the Delavan House. A general assortment of stationery will be kept on hand for sale on the most favorable terms. Subscriptions for *The Liberator*, NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (Ohio), *London Anti-Slavery Advocate* and *Herald of Progress*, will be received.

Contributions are solicited to aid in printing and circulating Petitions, sustaining Lectures, publishing Tracts for gratuitous distribution, etc., etc.

Donations, Orders for Books and Tracts, and communications relative to anti-slavery and other reform meetings in different parts of the State should be addressed to the general agent,

LYDIA MOTT, Albany, N. Y.

Committee.

S. J. May, P. H. Jones, S. B. Anthony, M. C. Wright, G. E. Baker, E. C. Stanton, A. M. Powell, L. Mott.

OBITUARY.

Departed this life, at Cambridge, Mass., August 26, 1860, Mrs. MARY ROOPE BOND, widow of the late Prof. Bond, of Harvard Astronomical Observatory, at the age of seventy-three years.

Descended from an ancient English family, distinguished for talents and accomplishments, literary, moral and religious, (that of *Cranch*, of Kingsbridge, in Devonshire, G. B.) this excellent woman was endued with a strong and well-cultivated mind, and bore all the characteristics of that solid worth and virtue which render the memory of our ancestors so estimable and venerable. Her religion, seated in the heart, and reigning in the affections, was exhibited in that love to the great Father which embraced in its wide circle all his human family. With pure and exalted piety, she had peace in believing, the rejoicing of hope, firm unto the end.

Full of years and of goodness, she died amid many blessings, in the faith of that spiritual life and heavenly world for which, we humbly trust, she has exchanged the present. Her latter days were a season of acute suffering, borne with saintly patience, from which it was a joy to herself and to all around her to obtain so peaceful a release.

"So by my woes to be
Nearer, my God, to thee!
Nearer to thee!"

H. C. F.

From Dwight's Journal of Music.

Died, in Boston, Sept. 6, MARY B. DWIGHT, wife of JOHN S. DWIGHT, aged 37.

No words can add anything to this simple announcement that can, in any way, quicken the sympathy of many friends for him whose heart and home are made desolate by this sad event.

It is but three weeks since we announced to the readers of this journal, Mr. Dwight's departure to Europe for an extended visit of some months, and but a few days had passed after he had left us, before she, from whom he had parted in fullest health, was attacked by the disease which, after some weeks' duration, suddenly took her away. Not severe in its nature, or in any way alarming in any part of its course, the unexpected and fatal termination came, even to those nearest to her, with the shock of a sudden surprise, as the tidings must soon come with a like shock to him.

The announcement of her death will bring sorrow to many hearts and tears to many eyes; for, to a large circle of friends, she had ever been an object of especial admiration and attraction from the many rare graces of nature, of culture and of person that were harmoniously blended in her. A genial, happy and spontaneous disposition made these qualities of mind and heart the delight of all who knew her. To her friends the loss is irreparable, and very many who knew her not will miss her beautiful and sunny presence from the occasions at which they have long observed her attendance, wherever Music or Art called their worshippers. Of the loss to those who stood in nearer and dearer relations to her we may not speak. A beautiful and very happy life has been fitly ended, though, as it seems to us, only too soon.

The services with which she was given to her rest were of a singular solemnity and beauty. She had desired, it was said (though not, we believe, in any anticipation of the near approach of death), that there should be no gloom at that time, but that there should be music and flowers around her. So there were manly words of Christian consolation and of prayer; there were flowers, the sweetest; there was music, the most solemn, of Bach and Mendelssohn, sung with wonderful beauty by the voices of friends with which hers had often mingled; and there were the friends of many years gathered around her, as she lay ready to depart. At the grave in the pleasant shades of Mount Auburn, no words were uttered, but, as we stood around it, loving hands dropped flowers upon her dust as she passed away from our sight forever.

NEW SERIES OF ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

THE new Series now consists of Six Tracts, to which we would again call the attention of our readers and of all friends of Anti-Slavery Reform, as just the publications which the times and the cause now require. Call for them—send for them—circulate them.

☞ To be had at the Anti-Slavery Offices, 5 Beekman street, New York; 107 North Fifth street, Philadelphia; and 221 Washington street, Boston.

Summary.

At a recent political gathering in St. Joseph, Mo., transparencies and banners were exhibited with the following mottoes: "For President, A. S. Duglas"—"Nigism for Lincoln"—"Death to Isims."

"PATRIARCHAL."—At Alexandria, La., last week, two negro slaves were arrested and whipped for the offence of hurrahing for Lincoln! The people, fearing an insurrection, kept a constant patrol. What a miserable way of living for both white and black!

The story has been started in England that Miss Prescott, author of "Sir Rohan's Ghost," wrote "The Ebony Idol." This is a slander on a gifted woman, for the purpose of selling a work destitute of genius, in which "the scenes are as absurd as the events are improbable."—*Boston Transcript.*

HAYTIEN SYMPATHY FOR JOHN BROWN.—The statement which is going the rounds that only between two and three hundred dollars has been subscribed in Hayti for the family of John Brown, it appears is a mistake. A late Haytien paper gives the amount of the subscription thus far as $30,000, Haytien—equal to about $2,000 Spanish.

LOST.—ONE CENT REWARD.—Lost on the road between Charleston and Baltimore, the National United Democratic party; was last seen running after a nigger. The stock in trade being hopelessly lost, the above reward will be paid by

JAMES BUCHANAN,
CALEB CUSHING,
BEN. F. BUTLER,
} Assignees.

NOTOS!—The following notice was actually posted in Marion, Ohio:

"NOTOS—A grate Duggleass meetin is it cum off on Saterde the 14teenth and a poll is to be razed we want to let um know daoun sowth that marryann county is awl rite and that cant go niggeer heer we are skawattur sovering and beleve in the pepal roolin yew will please publish this sum blac republekans might want to cum as are phitin niggers now Larew Joolye 6teen eighteen 60."

A mulatto of Cincinnati named A. W. Thompson, in company with James Franklin, a blind white man of Columbia, South Carolina, has been arrested at Memphis, Tennessee, for attempting to sell a free negro into bondage. The Memphis *Enquirer* says:

"James Franklin is said to be a man of means, living in Columbia, S. C., and a little fast in his expenditures for a blind man. It is supposed that the wily Cincinnati free negro conceived the idea of selling his dusky-hued brother into slavery, and then inveigled Franklin into it. Fortunately, they are all in jail, and the guilty party will be made to suffer the full penalty of the law."

LINCOLN AND SLAVE PROPERTY.—In a speech made at Brownsville, Tenn., on the 18th ult., Hon. Emerson Etheridge is reported as having argued at great length the immorality of slavery. He sustained his positions by citations from the writings of many Southern statesmen, but said that if Mr. Lincoln should be elected, he believed that the country would prosper as it has done heretofore, and that at the close of his administration negro property would be advanced in value.

WRITING TO THE LORD.—A newspaper before us states that at the breaking of the ground for the commencement of the Lynchburg and Tennessee Railroad at Lynchburg, a clergyman slowly and solemnly read a manuscript prayer, at the conclusion of which an old negro man, who had been resting with one foot on his spade and his arms on the handle, looking intently in the chaplain's face, straightened himself up, and remarked very audibly: "Well, I reckon dat's the first time de Lord's eber been writ to on de subjie ob railroads."

A QUEER EPITAPH.—In the cemetery at Lanesville may be seen an epitaph that well deserves a place among the collections of the curious in these matters. On a stone placed at the grave of a child there is the following inscription:

"This little Hero that lies here
Was conquered by the Diarrhœa."

We have often heard of similar instances of the oddity of human minds as exhibited in epitaphs, but have rarely met with an instance more singular than the above.—*Gloucester (Mass.) Telegraph.*

THE LEARNED QUAKER.—The foreign papers report that the estate once occupied by Robert Barclay has recently changed hands, and the new owner has pulled down the very room in the mansion in which Barclay wrote his famous "Apology for Quakers." For nearly two centuries the place has been an object of much interest. Barclay was a contemporary of Geo. Fox and Wm. Penn, and was one of the few good men who were on terms of intimacy with King Charles II.

SUMNER'S SPEECH IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—We see by the proceedings of a meeting of the citizens of Greenville, Abbeville district, S. C., on the 7th inst., that copies of Sumner's speech on the "Barbarism of Slavery" were sent to a number of clergymen in that State. Resolutions were adopted denouncing it as an intentional insult to South Carolinians, and requesting the clergymen and all others who had the speeches sent to them to forward the same at once to the secretary of the meeting referred to, "that, in one common pile, in the Congressional district of the late Hon. Preston S. Brooks, and on the anniversary of Sumner's caning, they may be consumed in a bonfire lighted by negroes."

REMARKABLE SUCCESS OF WOMEN NOVELISTS.—Within the last twelvemonth Derby & Jackson, the publishers, have issued no less than four novels, by four different authors, that are beyond question the greatest successes of the season. We refer to Mrs. Stowe's "Minister's Wooing," which has reached thirty editions; Miss Evans's "Beulah," twenty-four editions; the new novel "Rutledge," not yet twelve weeks from the press, has gone up to twelve editions; and Marion Harland's "Nemesis," the first edition—ten thousand copies being required to fill advance orders.—*Evening Post.*

Many of Whittier's grand poems are circulated at the South without his name, and some of the verses are subjected to "emendations" to suit that market. *The Alexandria* (Georgia) *Gazette*, in an able article in favor of Bell and Everett, uses a quotation from the Quaker poet's "Prisoner for Debt," but substitutes the word "Union" for "Freedom," as will be seen in the copy we make from that paper:

"Go ring the bells and fire the guns,
And fling the starry banner out;
Shout 'Union' till your lisping ones
Give back their cradle shout."

BLACK REPUBLICANS IN THE SOUTH.—We are informed, says the Savannah *Republican* of the 8th inst., that the Regulators at Silver Hill, St. Peter's parish, Beaufort district, S. C., had up, on Monday last, four persons accused of tampering with slaves, and, finding them guilty, were about to hang them. They, however, imprisoned them in the house of one of the residents of that place, in order to act with deliberation in punishment of the offence. One of the prisoners, on giving bonds for his future good behavior, was allowed to go about his business, and the other three, a man about fifty years of age, and his two sons, were ordered to leave the State. We learn they arrived in Savannah by the cars yesterday afternoon. Look out for them.

THE SOUTHERN TEST.—The question whether Mr. Bell or Mr. Breckinridge is the greater slaveholder is still discussed at the South. *The Vicksburg Sun* sets up for Breckinridge as follows:

"As much as the Bell-ringers have vaunted over the fact that John Bell was the only candidate for the Presidency who owns a nigger—as if that made him any better or more worthy of Southern confidence—it turns out that he does not own the hoof of one. Like a great many men we know in Mississippi, he is a very poor man himself, but has a very rich wife. His niggers all belong to his better half, and he doesn't own a single one in his own name. His property is all under petticoat government."

VERY TERRIBLE.—*The Southern Confederacy*, the leading organ of Mr Douglas in the State of Georgia, having been asked what the South ought to do in the event of Lincoln's election, says:

"We answer this interrogatory by simply stating THAT THE SOUTH WILL NEVER PERMIT ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO BE INAUGURATED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS THE DETERMINATION OF ALL PARTIES AT THE SOUTH! *And let the consequences be what they may—whether the Potomac be crimsoned in human gore, and Pennsylvania Avenue is ten fathoms in depth with mangled bodies, or whether the last vestige of liberty is swept from the face of the American continent, the South, the loyal South, the constitutional South, will never submit to such humiliation and degradation as the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln.*"

MR. EMERSON is preparing for the press a volume of his more recent lectures and essays. Many of his friends have been looking for a work from him that shall embody his philosophy in a system, the ripe result of those wonderful researches in the field of thought. This, we are told, he does not propose to furnish. His own character is the only summary of his teachings, the only connecting thread upon which the pearls of his thought are strung. We are not sure but this disconnected character of the wealth he gives us, this shower of loose gems and golden grains, is not more serviceable to the race than if they were wrought into rigid Procrustean forms that must be accepted or rejected as a whole. Each now takes from the glittering pile just the seal that bears his own device, the medal that was struck for him. Emerson is the least dogmatic of all teachers; his disciples belong not to him but to themselves.—*Springfield Republican.*

HOW TO RETAIN A GOOD FACE.—A correspondent of *The Home Journal* has some good ideas on the importance of mental activity in retaining a good face. He says:

"We were speaking of handsome men the other evening, and I was wondering why K. had so lost the beauty for which, five years ago, he was so famous. 'Oh, it's because he never did anything,' said B.; 'he never worked, thought, or suffered. You must have the mind chiselling away at the features, if you want handsome middle-aged men.' Since hearing that remark, I have been on the watch to see whether it is generally true—and it is. A handsome man who does nothing but eat and drink, grows flabby, and the fine lines of his features are lost; but the hard thinker has an admirable sculptor at work, keeping his fine lines in repair, and constantly going over his face to improve the original design."

SOUTHERN SENTIMENT.—The South are beginning to show rapidly the effect of suppressing free speech and a free press by their rapidly increasing illiberality and prejudice. We give two specimens of public sentiment, one religious and the other political. The New Orleans *Christian Advocate* says: "The prophetic Antichrist of Scripture was always thought to be the Church of Rome, until abolitionism developed itself, and then the interpretation began to be doubted. If ever men deserved the doom which Benedict Arnold escaped, William H. Seward, Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and their abettors, political and clerical, are the men."

The Montgomery (Alabama) *Mail* of the 28th, says:

"The whole South needs a thorough expurgation. For years we have allowed all sorts of interference, all manner of appliances, every description of seduction to itinerant Northern emissaries. Now the time has come for wiping these creatures out. Let a strict search everywhere reveal them—it will bring them to light—and let the rope do the rest. We speak in cold earnest, and we speak the words which reflecting, observant men think and advise us to utter."—*Zion's Herald.*

YOUNG MAN KILLED BY A RUNAWAY NEGRO.—A correspondent writing from Swift Creek, Craven County, N. C., under date

Miscellaneous Department.

THE HAPPY VALLEY.

I.

A SLOPING path between th' autumnal woods,
Where the pines breath'd an echo of far floods,
Led to a bank from which the ripe fern shook
Its speckled plumage o'er the winding brook.
I sat and list'ned in a sunny nook,
While a my feet the dead-ripe apple fell.
Lifting mine eyes from off an olden book
To wait each cadence of the clear sheep-bell,
That dropp'd in rills of music down the sombre dell.

II.

Around me fell th' unutterable rest
Of sunset, as beside the monarch's bed
Soft evening wept, and on her own pure breast
Pillow'd 'mid rosy light his dying head.
A solitary blackbird, while day fled,
Sounded his golden whistle from the thorn;
Her thin white arms the ghost-like mist outspread,
The nut-brown partridge whirr'd along the corn,
While peep'd above the trees the young moon's iv'ry horn.

III.

I sat and list'ned; for such mystic scene
Of earthly rest I ne'er had dreamt before,
And much I marvell'd if what here had been
Should lure us back, when on the far-off shore.
If led by angels from the pearly door,
We should alight upon this earth made new,
The same, and not the same we lov'd of yore,
Stamp'd with the signet of its God anew,
When mortal sin and grief had passed for aye from view.

IV.

In some such nook I prayed my home might be,
With all I ever loved in olden time;
Dwelling in love, a sinless company,
Among such scenes to build a nobler rhyme,
To tune the viewless wires to strains sublime!
Oh! blessed rest, to cease not, day or night,
That wondrous song, while th' everlasting chime
Pealing across each vale and gleamy height,
Proclaims th' eternal Sabbath of the realms of light.

V.

There, then, perchance, some face I once did love
And lose amid the restlessness of earth,
With the soft pleading glances of a dove,
May whisper of the angels' sinless mirth,
Unfold the drama of this human birth,
Its wayward longings, passionate regrets,
Impatient snatchings at imagin'd worth—
And the vast heap of Heaven's forgotten debts—
Go! may we meet where no tear falls, joy never sets.

VI.

It will not matter then who loved in vain,
Who for the wrong love cast away the true;
How each man wrought his robe of scorching pain,
Seeking the phantom bliss he never knew—
It will not matter—if among the few
We and our own sit by the crystal stream,
And watch our fitful life rise to our view,
Peopled with idol-shapes, a ghastly dream,
When Truth's eternal mountains grandly round us gleam.

VII.

Who has not mark'd upon some careworn face
The mem'ry of a better, earlier day,
Something divine which sin might not efface,
A shred of beauty which would not decay?
Who has not longed to win such soul to pray,
To charm across those features stern and wild
(Where, like the lightning, stormy passions play)
The touching love-look of the little child,
Ere home had lost its light, or guilt the soul defil'd?

VIII.

Or hast thou pac'd within some ruin'd fane,
Where at thy feet the saintly dead have slept,
And the night wind awoke such touching pain,
As if an angel in the moonlight wept—
While the true ivy round the cloister crept,
Ling'ring to prove that Nature still lov'd on,
And o'er their grave a green memorial kept
Of those her scholars who, long dead and gone,
Taught Art the smile of Truth, and breath'd Life into stone.

IX.

I, too, feel some such yearning wish to cry
To earth in all her ruin'd loveliness:
The Lord forgives thy sin, thou shalt not die—
Hope on amid thy shame and dreariness—
Clasp his dear feet in thy strong love's caress—
He will not shrink from thy polluted touch—
Weep o'er their toil-stains, wipe them with each tress;
Soon o'er thy brow a glorious hope shall flush,
"Forgiven many sins, because she loved much."

—*Dublin University Magazine.* ALAN BRODRICK.

THE CHRISTIANS AND PAGANS OF THE LEBANON.

WHEN the Emperor Constantine demolished the temple and overthrew the altars of Venus on Mount Lebanon, he did not thereby Christianize its mountaineers; that merit is said to belong to the famous Christian fakir, St. Simeon the Stylite. How the Syrian Christians of the hills came to be called Maronites, has been variously explained. Nairon, Dandini and other Maronite theologians, anxious to free their sect from all association with heresy, ascribe the foundation of the community to the Abbot Maron, who lived in the fourth century, and whom Theodoret and Chrysostom have mentioned in their works. Mosheim gives a very different account of its origin. According to him, the Lebanon was peopled by a rabble of escaped slaves, rebels and vagabonds, known as the Mardiates. Soon after the Council of Constantinople had, in 680, condemned the Monotholetic doctrine, that after the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ, there was but one operation or will—the divine, in which the human was merged—the Mardiates embraced it, asserted their independence of Rome, made John Maro their bishop, under the title of "Patriarch of Antioch," and called themselves from him, Maronites. Volney, again, says the sect took its name from Maroun or Maron, a hermit living on the banks of the Orontes, and dying there in the odor of sanctity. After his death several miracles were wrought by his bones, over which a tomb and chapel were erected at Hamah by the believers in the saintly ascetic. When the contest between the Greek and Roman Churches was at its height, and each was striving to increase its strength, the partisans of the Pope despatched one John the Maronite, a powerful preacher, to Syria, as bishop of Ogebail. Such was the influence he obtained over the Syrian Christians, that after defeating the Melkites—the friends of the Greek Church—in battle, he established an independent society, of which he was, of course, the head, and gradually extended his rule over the mountains, nearly as far as Jerusalem itself.

One thing is certain: about the year 1215, the Maronites effected a reunion with Rome, by abandoning the Monotholetic doctrine, and acknowledging the titular supremacy of the Pope. They retained the right of electing their patriarch and using their own ritual, as well as the privilege of clerical connubiality. Rome, on its part, assisted them with means of supporting their clergy and churches, and provided gratuitous instruction for any Maronite youths who chose to visit Rome for theological purposes. At this time, they could assemble forty thousand men capable of bearing arms.

From time to time, the Ottoman sultans made vain attempts to subdue the Maronites. Amurath III. proved more fortunate than his predecessors; his general, Ibrahim, reduced them to submission, and enforced the payment of an annual tribute to the pachalic of Tripoli, from the vineyards and mulberry groves of Kesrouan; a tribute payable, we believe, to the present day.

The Maronites now occupy the valleys and fastnesses of the principal Lebanon ridge east of Beyrout and Tripoli, extending inland to the Bekaa, the plain between Libanus and Anti-Libanus. They number—or rather, did number before the late massacres—some 220,000 people. They are described as a fine-looking, high-spirited, hospitable, frugal, honest race, spending their lives in the cultivation of the soil. The plantations of cotton and olives, the fields of corn, the mulberry grounds and vineyards, that cover the fertile land of Kesrouan, bear testimony to their industry and its reward. Each village is governed by its sheik, from whose decision an appeal can be made to the bishops. The latter elect the patriarch, the election being confirmed at the Vatican. The head of the Maronite Church assumes the surname of Peter upon his consecration, and resides at the monastery of Kanubin; he never interferes with its secular interests, which are cared for by two chief deacons. The bishops are divided into two classes—one having regular episcopal charges, the other being simple abbots without the cure of souls; there are Maronite bishops at Aleppo, Damascus and Cyprus. The general clergy are permitted to marry once, before ordination, but neither the patriarch nor the bishops enjoy that privilege. It is no difficult matter to attain the latter dignity; the same person may be ordained in a few hours to the several officers of lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, archpresbyter and bishop; the entire transition from a layman into a bishop being effected in the course of a single day! Candidates for holy orders are received for four years at a college at Ain-el-Warka; the Syriac grammar, the Church offices, general learning and practical theology making up the course of study. Each village has its chapel, and each chapel its bell—an abomination to Moslem ears. The priests subsist upon the bounty of their flocks and the produce of their own labor. In 1827, there were no less than eighty convents in the Lebanon, of which sixty-six belonged to the Maronite monks. They dress in a brown woollen garb, and never taste animal food.

In performing divine service, several priests are engaged together, standing around the altar; they burn a great deal of incense. Formerly, the communion was taken in both kinds by both laymen and clergy, but since 1736 the Romish fashion has been practised. To the same source they are indebted for confirmation and auricular confession. They consecrate the baptismal water by prayer, the candidate is then plunged in it three times, but the formula is only said once, after which the baptized person is anointed upon the head and breast. Their minor services are—*nocturns*, held at midnight; *laudes*, at daylight; *tierce*, immediately before mass; *sexts*, at midday; *nones*, at three o'clock; *vespers*, at sunset; and *complins*, after supper. Each office consists of a preface and two or three prayers and hymns. The services are performed in Old Syriac, the gospel alone being read in the vernacular Arabic. During Lent, they do not eat till two or three hours before sunset; they also fast twenty days before the Nativity, and on every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year, abstaining from food until the afternoon. The Maronites dwelling in the neighborhood of the sacred cedars, celebrate the Transfiguration with a religious service under the shadow of the venerable trees—the seven giants of Mount Lebanon.

The Druses, the most compact and united sectarians in Asia, occupy the whole of the southern range of the Lebanon chain, the western slope of Anti-Lebanon and G'bl-il-Sheikh, where they hold exclusive possession of upwards of forty towns and villages, and share two hundred with the Maronites; while about eighty villages in other parts of Anti-Lebanon are peopled by them. They owe their origin to a Persian, Mohammed Ben-Ismail ed-Derazy, who settled in Egypt in 1017, and became such a fanatical disciple of that monster or madman, the Calif Hâkem, that he was driven from the country, and obliged to take refuge in the valley of Wady-el-Teim. Here he propagated his dogmas, which were afterwards modified by Hamza, whom the Druses venerate as their actual founder. This singular community believe in the unity of God and his manifestation of himself to men in the persons of seven individuals, the last of whom was Hâkem, of infamous memory. They also believe in the existence of five spiritual ministers of Heaven, who have, from time to time, appeared on earth, the chief of these being Christ and Hamza. According to them, all the souls that have been created in the world were numbered from the beginning, have never increased or diminished, and will so remain to all eternity; all the stars, suns and moons in sight of the earth having been created for their sole use and good. They believe in the transmigration of souls—not allowing, however, that the souls of men ever pass into the lower animals—and look forward to the period when Hâkem shall be undisputed lord of the earth. They have rejected the seven points of Islamism, substituting for them seven others—1. Veracity (to each other only); 2. Mutual protection and assistance; 3. Renunciation of all other religions; 4. Profession of the unity of Hâkem as God; 5. Contentment with his works; 6. Submission to his will; 7. Separation from those in error, and from demons.

They are divided into two classes—Akals, or those initiated into the Druse mysteries; and Djahils, or the uninitiated. This distinction is one irrespective of sex, rank or wealth; and any one may, after probation, pass from the lower to the higher class by making certain declarations, and renouncing certain indulgences. The Djahils are free from all religious duties, although cognizant of the leading features of the faith and the secret signs of recognition; they can eat, drink and dress as they please. The Akals, on the contrary, are subject to many restrictions. They must not wear gold, silk, embroidered or fanciful apparel. Wine, spirits, tobacco and snuff are forbidden luxuries. If rich, they must not have more than four sons born to them—if poor, half that number must suffice; and a female Akal is excluded from entering the temple for two years if she marries one of the uninitiated. An Akal never swears or utters obscene language, or tells a lie; and so fearful is he of receiving money that has been improperly acquired, that upon being paid any sum, he invariably employs a third party to exchange the coins, so that the cash he pockets may not be directly connected with the original donor. The Akals are treated with great respect and reverence by their less self-denying brethren; but should they break any of their vows in the slightest degree, they become outcasts from that time. As soon as one of them dies, a meeting is held, and every circumstance of his life rigidly criticized; if his reputation comes unscathed from the ordeal, they say, "May God be merciful to him!" If otherwise, no prayer is offered, as they believe it would be inefficacious.

The Druse temples are all built in secluded situations; in these the Akals meet on Fridays after dusk, the men being separated from the women by a wooden railing. The proceedings begin with a general conversation on politics, in which they each relate any news they may have heard likely to affect the community. Passages are then read from religious books, and all join in the Druse war-hymn, describing the coming of the tribe from China, the destruction of the unbelievers, and the conquest of the world by the followers of Hâkem. Food is then distributed; and the principal Akals are left to concert any measures they may consider necessary for the general welfare; intelligence of a more private nature is now communicated without reserve, but anything requiring profound secrecy is discussed by a chosen committee of three. A Druse can commit no crime greater than that of betraying a national secret; the traitor is looked upon as an apostate from the faith, and meets with no mercy at the hands of the fraternity.

To enable the nation, upon occasion, acting as one man, intelligence is conveyed through the scattered people by means as simple as they are certain. The elder of each village temple represents his district at a town temple, the elders of the town temples communicate with the chief-priest at Bahleen, hear the central news in return, and retail it to the village elders, who communicate what concerns the entire community to the Akals of their respective districts, and what is secret, to the select few. The principle of cooperation is carried out thoroughly; and if a Druse family appears to act in opposition to the general policy, it is to serve a purpose, and with the full consent and approbation of the leaders of the nation. To gain their ends, they will assume the forms of any religion; many, seized in Damascus, have professed Islamism to save themselves, and been decapitated immediately by their captors, that they might die in the true faith.

The Druse women are all taught to read and write. Polygamy is unknown among them. Divorce takes place by mutual agreement; where that is wanting, an "assembly of verification" is held, consisting of the relatives of both parties; and whichever is considered to be in the wrong, has to give up to the other one-half of his or her property. If the news is spread abroad that a man has divorced his wife, divorce he he must, however unfounded the report; and once a woman is divorced, her quondam husband must never look upon her face again. Should a female be detected in wrong-doing, no one will intermarry with her family until the offender has been put to death by her nearest male relative, who thus wipes out the disgrace, the authorities never troubling the murderer, who is considered to have done no harm. The birth of a child is an occasion of extravagant rejoicing; and the little stranger is serenaded the first night of his arrival—a species of welcome, considering the sort of music in vogue in the mountains, enough to frighten him out of his little life. A Druse mother would never forgive any one who rocked her child's cradle when its little owner was out of it, as she firmly believes evil spirits are ever on the watch for such an opportunity of taking possession—they only do so, it seems, when the cradle is swinging—which, if they once obtain, they never quit till they have killed the infant.

The male Druses are hardy, robust, and long-lived; and every one of them, at need, a warrior. Corn is but little cultivated by them, every available spot being planted with the mulberry, silk being the staple product of the country. They employ the mule and ass as beasts of burden, their mountains being impassable for the Arab camels, and the roads rendered purposely difficult for horses, in order to impede the progress of troops. They eat three times a day: the morning meal consists of bread, cheese and grapes; at mid-day, they dine on kibby—chopped meat and corn made into balls and fried—rice rolled in boiled vine-leaves, pilaff and curdled milk, salads and omelets; the richer among them sitting down to soup, fowls, and mutton, stewed with vegetables; but beef and pork are never eaten.

The government is in the hands of the grand emir, who pronounces sentence in criminal cases, decides civil causes, and settles all differences between his subjects. Not that they often appeal to him to do so; such matters are usually settled by the sheiks, who govern the seven districts into which the Druses are divided. They also collect the taxes—no onerous duty, as they are willingly paid; and after deducting a percentage for themselves, remit the balance to the emir. The Chief of the Stars is a great man among this strange people, and no enterprise of moment is ever undertaken without consulting him.

The early history of the Druse nation is lost in obscurity. They occupied the Lebanon prior to the invasion of Syria by the Crusaders. The Ottoman sultans made vigorous attempts to subdue them, but in vain, until Amurath III., after a fierce contest, compelled the mountain-warriors to succumb, and put an end to the anarchy then existing among them, by placing them under one head, responsible to the Porte. From this time, their annals are records of continual strife; they revenged the loss of their independence by losing no opportunity of practising predatory warfare upon their nominal masters. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Fakereddeen was emir, they obtained a victory over the Turkish forces which left them free for a time. Unfortunately, the emir, carried away by his success, joined the rebel pacha of Aleppo in seeking Damascus. The sultan answered this audacious act by sending an army of 15,000 picked men into the Lebanon. At this critical moment, internecine feuds broke out among the Druses; and when Fakereddeen assembled his forces on the banks of the Damoor, he found himself, from the defection of several chiefs, too weak to contend with the enemy, and leaving his army, he fled to Europe, and for nine years found an asylum at the court of the Medici. During his absence, the Druses, commanded by his brother and son, made head against the Turks, and, aided by the Maronites, drove them from the plains of the Bekaa, following up the success soon afterwards by a brilliant victory in a valley near Sidon, when 1200 Druses proved more than a match for 20,000 Turks. When Fakereddeen returned to his people, however, he found them beleaguered by a host of enemies. This was in 1622, during one of the severest winters ever known in the Lebanon. The emir resolved upon sallying forth upon the foe, and, axe in hand, led the way; his daring plan succeeded, and the Turks were glad to come to terms. Four years afterwards, Fakereddeen was invested by the sultan with the government of the mountain district from Jerusalem to Tripoli, a country inhabited by predatory hordes, who acknowledged no authority whatever; yet this troublesome dignity involved him in difficulties with the Damascene pacha, who paid for his interference by being well beaten. The Druses had now attained the height of their power, when their great captain and all his family were suddenly removed by the bowstring, after which the power of the Druse emir was gradually reduced, till it became a mere shadow of what it had been.

In 1768, a Druse chief, named Daher, assumed the title of sheik of Acre, Nazareth, Tiberius, Safat, and Galilee, and routed all the Ottoman armies sent against him. In 1772, a revolution was effected in Egypt, many of the Druses seduced to join the Porte, and Sidon was besieged by the Turks and their new allies. Daher galloped to Acre, found there some Russian vessels of war, struck a bargain, and returned to wage a fierce contest with his foes. His Russian friends bombarded the Turkish towns; the Druses soon fell off from the Moslems, and Daher's star was once more in the ascendant. In 1775, Jaffa fell before the Egyptian troops, but the death of their commander stopped the progress of the victorious army. The Ottoman government still professed peace and friendship towards Daher, but suddenly bombarded Sidon with their fleet. The gallant chief, unprepared for this, was seeking present safety in flight, when he was shot dead by a peasant. Djezzar appointed the Emir Bechir Shehaab governor of the Lebanon, but it was long before the Druses would consent to acknowledge his authority, and not until their leader, Sheik Beshir Djonbelat, had been decapitated at Acre.

In 1840, a peasant, whether Druse or Maronite is not known, emptied a basket of rubbish over his neighbor's wall, to the detriment of his neatly trimmed garden. The injured party was not inclined to put up quietly with such an affront from one who was of another faith; the personal quarrel expanded, each sought for champions, and so the feud grew day by day, till it assumed the shape of civil war. Still further to embitter the relation between the two sects, the Maronites sided with Mehemet Ali in his dispute with the Porte, while the Druses espoused the cause of the sultan, and suffered accordingly—Ibrahim Pacha leaving nothing but ruins wherever he carried the Egyptian forces. Since that time, the Maronites and Druses have been constantly breaking the peace. In 1845, a terrible war was carried on between them, both sides vying with each other in cruelty; above one hundred villages were utterly destroyed, two-thirds of which belonged to the Maronites.

Europeans are naturally inclined to side with the Maronites, but they are far from being the innocent sucking-doves their French sympathisers would have the world believe. The Druses are denounced as living incarnations of merciless intolerance, although they have, ere this, been held up as examples worthy of imitation by nations boasting of civilization for "the gentle spirit which guides them," while, but fifteen years ago, the Maronite patriarch showed his idea of toleration by launching an anathema at certain Protestant missionaries laboring among the Druses; forbidding any man to admit his fellow-Christians into his house, to visit them, to sell to them, to eat with them, or serve them in any way, under pain of incurring the curse of God, St. Peter and St. Paul, and fire and brimstone! The Druses have one claim upon English sympathy, which our French neighbors cannot be expected to appreciate: when a refugee from any land sets foot on Druse soil, he is free from pursuit and persecution; the Druse never surrenders a guest, whatever his faith may be; and the nation would rise as one man against any attempt to seize a refugee who had claimed their hospitality. Nothing, of course, can palliate the shocking massacres which have horrified Christendom; but it should be remembered, that a people numbering some 80,000 have fallen upon a nation counting 220,000 souls, to the male portion of which the musket and dagger are everyday articles of wear; and that the Maronites have provoked the strife by interfering at Constantinople for the destruction of their rivals, relying, probably, if matters went against them, upon the intervention of the great Christian powers to save them from the consequences of their own acts.—*Chambers's Journal.*

THE LANGUAGE OF THE EYE.

THE eye can threaten like a loaded, levelled gun, or can insult like kicking or hissing, or, in its altered mode, by beams of kindness, it can make the heart dance with joy. The manners of the eye reveal all the interior of the man, though our language is inadequate to paint them. When a thought strikes us, the eye is fixed, and remains gazing at a distance, and enumerating the names of persons or countries, as France, Germany, Spain, England, Bohemia—the eyes wink at each new name. There is no nicety of learning sought by the mind that the eyes do not vie in acquiring. "The artist," says Michael Angelo, "must take his measure with tools not in his hand, but in the eye." And there is no end of the catalogue of its performances, whether in indolent vision of health and beauty, or the strained vision of art and labor. The eyes are as bold as lions, roving, running, leaping, here and there, far and near. They speak all languages. They wait for no introduction. They are no Englishmen; ask no leave of age or rank; they respect neither poverty, nor riches, nor learning, nor power, nor virtue, nor sex, but intrude and go again, and go through and through you in a moment of time. What inundations of life and thought are discharged from one soul into another through them! The glance is natural magic—a mysterious communication established across the house between two entire strangers, and moves all the springs of wonder. Communication by the glance is in the greatest part not subject to the control of the will. It is the bodily symbol of identity of nature. We look into the eyes to know if this or the other form is another self. The eyes will not lie, but they make a faithful confession of what inhabitant is there. The angels that inhabit this temporary human form show themselves at the doors, and the imps and demons also. The revelations are sometimes terrific. The confession of a low, usurping devil is there made. The observer will seem to feel the presence of horns and hoofs where he looked for innocence and simplicity. It is remarkable that the spirit which appears at the windows of the house at once invests itself in a new form of its own to the mind of the beholder. Eyes converse in their language as much as the tongue, with the advantage that the ocular dialect is understood all the world over. The language of the eye is very hard to counterfeit. You can read in the eyes of your companion while you talk whether your argument hits him, though his tongue will not confess it. There is a look by which a man shows he is going to say a good thing, and a look when he has said it. Vain and forgotten are all the fine offices of hospitality if there be no holiday in the eye. How many furtive invitations are avowed by the eye, though dissembled by the lips. A man comes away from a company; he has heard no important remark, but, if in sympathy with the society, he is innocent of the fact of such a stream of life as has been flowing to him through the eye. There are eyes which give no more admission into them than blue berries. Others are liquid, and deep wells that men might fall into. And others are oppressive, and deterring, and take too much notice. There are asking eyes, and asserting eyes, and prowling eyes, and eyes full of faith, some of good, and some of sinister omen.—*Emerson.*

ALEXANDER DUMAS ON HIS TRAVELS.

IN a letter from Catania of the 19th ult., we read:—"The greatest bustle which the place has witnessed was called forth by the arrival of Alexander Dumas in his yacht, bearing his dogs, and his birds, and his monkeys, and himself and his she-admiral (the woman who accompanies him on his cruise, dressed in an animal's uniform), his photographers, his secretaries and amanuensis; his servants, dressed some like Circassians, others like Greeks, others like Spaniards, others again like Indians. What a precious row, to be sure, they did all contrive to make! When Alexander the Greatest is himself on board he does nothing but loll on deck in his shirt sleeves, and without any hat, playing with his dogs or chatting with the sailors of the other vessels, or with the she-admiral. When he lands, the gallant she-admiral, Emile, always accompanies him, and they are constantly driving about in an open carriage, bowing and gossiping and laughing with all whom they meet. It's 'hail fellow well met' with the veriest stranger, and five minutes' acquaintance ripens with such marvellous rapidity into the closest friendship, that the final farewell is taken at the end of the fifth minute amidst the heartiest shaking of hands and kissing and hugging. The entrance of the other Alexander into Babylon was, doubtless, a very grand affair, yet I doubt if it caused as great a sensation as did the arrival of the modern Alexander into this town of Catania. It rivalled the display of the renowned Dr. Dulcamara. I went to inspect the yacht, and I can assure you that for elegance—nay, for luxury—for the number of curious things that it contained, it was a little floating museum. In the cabin there is arranged a collection of the arms of every nation in the known world, and, indeed, many weapons from parts of the world which are hardly known at all. Then there is no end of the gold and silver ornaments and curiosities. There is a little library of the most beautifully-bound books. It is, in short, Monte Christo's vessel, with all its comforts and elegances realized; only it is not freighted with the real treasures. Dumas told me that the expense of keeping it up was forty francs a-day—a moderate enough sum, surely, for such an object. He has now left this for Palermo. When the intelligence came that Bosco had left Messina with the five thousand Neapolitan troops, Dumas hastened to Colonel Ebor, and offered to transport in his yacht, as far as Taromina, a body of troops, and thus have cut off Bosco's communication with Messina. The plan seemed sensible enough, but several reasons induced Colonel Ebor not to adopt it: first, because it could not be carried out without a larger force than it was in his power to detach; and secondly, because he had received no instructions from Garibaldi. On the day that the column entered Catania, Dumas had the Italian colors flying mast-high from his vessel, but none of the other ships here followed the example. The municipality, being desirous to give a dinner to all the military authorities and to many of the Garibaldian officers, along with all the notables, Dumas likewise was invited, and, strange to say, they also invited the she-admiral. The invitation for the dinner was at six precisely, but he did not make his appearance until near seven, and effected what he desired by making himself more prominent and conspicuous by keeping everybody waiting for him. The she-admiral was perfectly magnificent, being dressed in a lilac velvet uniform, with, Heaven preserve us! such buttons, and such lace, and such epaulettes."

ODE TO GARIBALDI.

WHENCE comes that mighty sound,
Awakening underground
The buried victims of oppression's rod;
And rising to the sky,
Swells in rich harmony
With the bright choir that fronts the throne of God;
Till heaven gives back to earth again,
In fuller tones, the animating strain?

Louder and louder still,
From valley and from hill,
Rings the glad shout, delighting nature's ear;
For long, with bitter smart,
The mother's tender heart
Had bled with anguish for her children dear,
Who, crushed and helpless in their living tomb,
Struggle for second birth within her laboring womb.

Again, and still again,
O'er the exulting main,
Meeting the half-stifled cry of misery
From tyranny's dark cells,
The sacred anthem swells,
To that wild summons making glad reply—
"We come, the sons of Freedom come to save,
To bind the tyrant, and let loose the slave!"

Upon his throne a thing,
Misnamed by men a King,
Heard the lamentings with inhuman glee;
While round about him stood,
Disguised in stole and hood,
Monsters in human shape more vile than he,
A hellish crew in sacred vesture drest,
The vermin of the State, the Church's pest.

But when sweet Freedom's song
Burst on the godless throng,
Their fiendish joy was turned to coward hate;
And like untempered clay,
Crumbled in swift decay
The shattered fragments of their rotten state;
As when of old the city's bulwarks fell
At the loud shout of God-led Israel.

Now swiftly o'er the sea
The sons of liberty—
A chosen band on Heaven's own errand sent—
Steer for that lovely strand
That girds the fettered land,
In their great cause and leader confident;
For Garibaldi led them to the fight,
The generous champion of the people's right.

As when the morning light
Scares the foul things of night
Back to their native homes and kindred gloom;
So from the patriot's eye
The tyrant's minions fly,
Like guilty spirits at the crack of doom!
While banished hope returns with joyous mien,
And smiling Nature lightens all the scene.

O Freedom's truest son!
Bravely thy work was done!
And every heart that melts for human woe
Shall bless thy gallant name,
And glory in thy fame,
More glorious than kings and emperors know.
Thy noble deeds shall time and change defy,
When thrones and crowns in dark oblivion lie!

—*National Magazine.*

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.

IN MEMORIAM.

LIFE in this sublunary world derives its chief value from its use alone; and contemplated in this aspect of the great English moralist, there are few men in any country whose career was more precious, and whose existence was more valuable, in a public sense, than that of Alexis de Tocqueville, who expired on the 16th of April last, at Hyeres, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He had been for a considerable while suffering from the progress of an insidious disease, but it was only within the last five or six months that his friends unwillingly and mournfully renounced all hope of his ultimate recovery.

M. de Tocqueville was the son of the Baron de Tocqueville, a member of the Council General of the Oise, and President of the Agricultural Society of Compiègne. His father, a man of literary tastes, had distinguished himself as a statistician, economist, and administrator during the Empire and the Restoration, and had published at Compiegne more than one work connected with the moral and social economy of the Department of the Oise, in which he resided. In the earlier days of the Empire, amidst the triumphs of Marengo and the coronation of Milan, young Alexis was born, and ere he could lisp the words *Papa* or *Maman*, the battle of Austerlitz was gained, and the Austrians and Russians pursued, *l'épée dans les reins*, by the victorious French. For a period of full seven years the astonishing military successes of the Emperor of the French continued, and when young De Tocqueville had reached the age of reason, though the military prospects of his country were not so bright as in 1805 (the year of his birth), yet still his country showed a bold front against coalesced Europe. In those days every young man in France was a soldier. No sooner did the boy of seven or eight escape from the hands of his *bonne*, than he was clad in the uniform of some military school or college, and drilled and disciplined as though the main, the only business of life were to fight battles and maintain sieges. Seven or eight years of this hard and merciless system had, with all its compensations of glory, somewhat dissatisfied France; and when the Russian campaign was fairly entered on in 1812, fathers of families became more and more desponding, and less hopeful of the result. France had then to maintain an aggressive war, not only in Russia and Germany, but in Spain and Portugal, at a season, too, when the national instincts of all these hostile nations seemed roused to frenzy against the aggressor. The evil days at length came, in 1814 and 1815, when the tide of invasion was to be turned back on France herself—when she was to find picquets of Cossacks encamped in the Champs Elysees, and strange uniforms glittering in the streets of Paris.

Alexis de Tocqueville was old enough to remember these events, which produced a deep impression on his young mind. His first serious studies were made under the government of Louis XVIII., a restored king, himself a man of letters and a philosopher, and a liberal also, in a certain sense. A member of a family who had served the Bourbons, the father of young De Tocqueville witnessed the extinction of the Empire without any very poignant regrets. Like all intelligent and moderate men in France, the Baron de Tocqueville had seen the resources and wealth of France wasted in a fruitless attempt at universal dominion, and he was rejoiced to find that, at length, there was the hope of his countrymen enjoying a moderate and well-balanced representative government. With the return of peace, liberal and serious studies were resumed by the youth of France. Classical, historical and economical prelections resumed their place in the general system of a liberal education, and were conjointly cultivated with the exact sciences, the objects of a too exclusive devotion during the time of the first Napoleon. Under this better and more civil system Alexis de Tocqueville was brought up. He was instructed in the literature of Greece and Rome, as well as in that of England; and history and political economy occupied a large share of his attention. In almost all the eighty-six departments of France there are a number of places connected with the magistracy which enjoy a high consideration. In the ancient monarchy of France, as well as under the restored Bourbons, the magistrature served to temper the severity of absolute power, and by its calmness and dignity formed a species of bulwark between the crown and the people. The names of L'Hospital, of Molé, of Harlay, of D'Aguessau, of Seguier, and Malesherbes (from whom, on the mother's side, De Tocqueville descended), are associated with this order, and linked with memories most honorable to France. The family of De Tocqueville had, in past times, illustrated the gown, and under these circumstances it was not astonishing that the father of Alexis de Tocqueville should educate him for the law. He received all the varied instruction which could be supplied by the best professors, and was admitted a member of the French bar in 1825. In the following year of 1826 he was named *Juge d'Instruction* at Versailles. The functions of the *Juge d'Instruction* in France relate principally to crimes and punishments, to the collection and marshalling of proofs and evidence, and the arrest of those charged with illegal acts. For three years young de Tocqueville filled this onerous and unpleasant office, and in the year 1830 he was named *Juge Suppléant*, a position which he occupied for more than a year. While filling these employments, the attention of M. de Tocqueville was considerably directed to the Penitentiary system. The Revolution of 1830 had now placed on the throne of France the head of the younger Bourbons, in the person of the Duke of Orleans, since Louis Philippe I. A more liberal system of government than prevailed in the reign of Charles X. was speedily inaugurated, and some of the most eminent and enlightened men in France became ministers of the new dynasty. The intelligence and intellect of the younger members of the French bar were speedily attracted to the new government. Some of De Tocqueville's friends, such as De Broglie, Guizot, and Dupin, had accepted office, and these names, combined with those of Laffitte, Perier, and Baron Louis, conciliated, and, in a great degree, satisfied public opinion. Moderate and reasonable men saw that there was a hope of improvements, moral and political, and that the reign of brute force and military tyranny was at end. The king and his ministers were desirous, as far as in them lay, to ameliorate the condition of the people, and, above all, of the lower classes. With this view, Alexis de Tocqueville, conjointly with Gustave de Beaumont, was despatched on a mission to America. He and his colleague were directed by the Ministry to inquire into the Penitentiary system in the United States, with a view to its ultimate introduction into France. M. de Tocqueville remained a couple of years in America, visiting the different States, and assiduously inquiring into the institutions of the country. In the United States he laid the foundation of some valuable friendships. Circumstances brought the young Frenchman much into contact with Mr. Edward Livingstone, then Secretary of State, and subsequently American Minister at Paris. Mr. Livingstone had greatly distinguished himself as an advocate, and had been appointed Attorney-General of the State of New York so early as 1802. But his chief and brightest title to distinction was the having prepared the penal code of Louisiana, founded chiefly on the English and French laws. This code, at once simple and apparently humane, abolished capital punishment, for which the Penitentiary system was substituted. At the first blush De Tocqueville was charmed with a code which harmonized with his philanthropic views—a code already partially adopted by the Brazils, and wholly by the Republic of Guatemala. But there is reason to suppose that time and experience somewhat modified his views, and caused him to look on the system with less admiration. To the last, however, he retained the highest opinion of Livingstone's merits as a great jurist, a walk in which he considered him second to none.

In 1833, De Tocqueville returned to Europe, and presented with his colleague their joint report on the Penitentiary system. At the close of the following year the first edition of his most valuable and profound work, *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, was given to the world. Not merely his own countrymen, but England and the civilized world, were satisfied with the depth and originality of this masterly production. The style was clear, the reasoning cogent, the illustrations striking; but chiefly remarkable was its spirit of sagacity and forecast, indicating profound thought and deep reflection. So popular and readable was a work many of whose disquisitions would, from the nature of the subject, be considered dry, that at the beginning of 1836 the volumes had already gone through five editions, and a sixth was preparing for the press. Without doubt, *De la Démocratie en Amérique* is the best and profoundest work that has appeared on America. The ideas are just and well expressed, the speculations are equally bold and sagacious, and the insight into the character of the people and the institutions of the country almost marvellous. The volumes of which we speak have been compared to the *Esprit des Loix* of Montesquieu, a work which cost its author twenty years of labor and reflection. This is the highest compliment which could be conferred on M. de Tocqueville.

The literary societies of France were not slow to acknowledge the merits of so remarkable a production. The Academy of Moral and Political Sciences elected De Tocqueville in 1837 as member, in place of the learned metaphysician and philosopher, La Romiguiere, whom he resembled in the clearness, correctness and elegance of his style, as well as in the purity and independence of his character, moral and political. Nor was this the only public recognition of his merits. In 1839, the town of Valogues, in the department of La Manche, sent this distinguished writer to the Chamber as its representative, at a moment when the Eastern question became so menacing for Europe. M. de Tocqueville made his maiden speech in the Chamber on this question, and gave his vote for the credit destined to extend the French naval force in the Mediterranean. In respect to style and form the discourse was faultless. Patriotic in its sentiments and profound in some of its views, it was marred by a delivery too cold and calm to suit the popular taste. Graces of elocution and utterance were also wanting. Of a languid and phlegmatic temperament, M. de Tocqueville wanted the *verve* and also the volume and silvery sweetness of voice necessary for a tribune of the people. Byron truly says in *Don Juan*,

"The devil hath not in all his quivers choice,
An arrow for the heart like a sweet voice;"

and the names of Berryer and Mauguin, of O'Connell and the late Sir William Follett, may be cited in confirmation of the truth of the remark. Graciousness, suavity, penetrativeness, subtlety, neatness, precision, and profundity, were the characteristics of M. de Tocqueville's style, and these finer qualities were not relished by the host of hearers in the ex-Chamber of Deputies any more than they would be relished in our own reformed House of Commons. It may not be out of place here to state that the French Cabinet did not, in 1839–40, act a straightforward part in this Eastern question. In seeking a European cooperation on the Turkish question against Russia, it flattered itself with the ultimate hope of finding a lever in London against a Russian occupation of Constantinople, and a lever at St. Petersburg against an English occupation of Alexandria. The super-refined cunning of Louis Philippe defeated his object, and laid his Cabinet open to the imputation of double dealing.

During the course of this session, M. de Tocqueville presented a report on the subject of slavery in the colonies. This subject he had studied probably more profoundly than any other man in France. In the session of 1841 he spoke more than once or twice on the Eastern question, always putting forth ingenious views. He also addressed the Chamber on the question of Deputies being at the same time public functionaries, and on the prison question. In the session of 1842 he made an able speech on the "*droit de visite*," examining the question as an international lawyer and jurist. He also spoke on the Regency, and took the popular side on the questions of secret service money and the *Police de roulage*. In the three or four subsequent sessions he chiefly addressed himself to the great topics of prison discipline and popular education. As a popular educator his theories were large, liberal, and eminently catholic, untinctured with those sectarian and ultramontane views which deformed the educational projects of more eloquent deputies.

The senatorial efforts of De Tocqueville in the five years between 1843 and 1848 were eminently distinguished by largeness of view, and the sagacity and forecast which distinguished the statesman from the mere politician. There was nothing *ad captandum* in his manner—nothing said with a view to flatter the prince or to delude the people. On the contrary, all was simple and straightforward, almost stern, indeed, so wholly was the honest publicist "*sans fard*." But in hearing the accents of that somewhat feeble and passionless voice, you felt convinced you were listening to an honorable and honest man—a man of probity and patriotism, who had no private interests to serve. One could have wished his public manner had been a little more popular, and somewhat less didactic. But it is not for the sage and the philosopher to assume the disguises and to put on the wardrobe of smiles with which jury advocates and unprincipled demagogues gull and cajole their complaisant dupes.

In 1842 M. de Tocq